

The American Historical Review

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION



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VOLUME 80 • NUMBER 5 • DECEMBER 1975

The American Historical Review

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Cover Illustration. The subject of this cartoon is Paul Cullen, Roman Catholic archbishop of Armagh and Primate of All Ireland. The occasion for it was a meeting attended by Cullen on August 19, 1851, in Dublin, which had been called for the purpose of launching the Catholic Defense Association to secure the repeal of the recently passed Ecclesiastical Titles Act. That act forbade the assumption by Catholic bishops of territorial titles taken from any place within the United Kingdom. "The Fiery Cross" is a reference to the wooden cross with charred or bloody ends used by the highland clans as a signal for calling their clansmen to battle. From *Punch*, August 30, 1851. (See Emmet Larkin, "Church, State, and Nation in Modern Ireland," pp. 1244-76.)

The American Historical Review appears in February, April, June, October, and December of each year. It is published by the American Historical Association, 400 A Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003, and is printed and mailed by the William Byrd Press, 2901 Byrdhill Road, Richmond, Virginia 23228.

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At its meeting on December 27, 1974, the AHA Council authorized the Executive Director to remove the Recently Published Articles (RPA) from the *American Historical Review* and to implement plans for a separate publication. The Council's action was based solely on economic factors and was necessitated by the rapid and enormous increases in production costs. As of February 1976, the RPA will be published separately, though it will continue to appear, as formerly, three times a year. The RPA will be bound and have a paper cover.

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VOLUME 80 • NUMBER 5 • DECEMBER 1975

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Contributors:

MARC RAEFF is Bakhmeteff Professor of Russian Studies at Columbia University. He specializes in European, especially Russian, intellectual and institutional history since the Renaissance and is currently working on a book-length study of the well-ordered police state and modernity in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Europe. Mr. Raeff studied under M. M. Karpovich at Harvard.

EMMET LARKIN, professor of British and Irish history at the University of Chicago, and author of *The Roman Catholic Church and the Creation of the Modern Irish State, 1878-1886* (1975), is now writing a multivolume history of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland in the nineteenth century. Mr. Larkin received the Ph.D. at Columbia University where he studied with the late John Bartlett Brebner.

WALTER LA FEBER is professor of history at Cornell. Specializing in American history, his publications include *The New Empire: An Interpretation of American Expansion, 1860-1898* (1963) and *America, Russia and the Cold War, 1945-1975* (3d ed.; 1975).

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The Well-Ordered Police State and the Development of Modernity in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Europe: An Attempt at a Comparative Approach

MARC RAEFF

TRADITIONALLY, WESTERN HISTORIOGRAPHY traces the origins of the so-called modern world to the Enlightenment and the revolutionary waves, political and economic, at the end of the eighteenth century. These eighteenth-century origins are related to the rise of a new social class and its triumph over the *ancien régime* as a precondition for the unfolding of the two major aspects of modern civilization—capitalism and statism. But is this view not oversimple? We historians know all too well—and recent scholarship repeatedly reminds us of it—that the past is much more tenacious than public opinion imagines it to be. Little of the past is ever fully lost, though its dynamic role may change and its forms be transmuted.

With respect to state policy and administration, the question arises whether the new ideas of the Enlightenment and the interests of a rising middle class helped to shape the actions of rulers and governments before the French Revolution. Was not the enlightened despotism (or “absolutism,” as I would prefer to call it) such a response to intellectual and social pressures? But the very contradiction inherent in the notion of enlightened absolutism doomed the effort to failure and opened the way to the storm of

This article is based on a paper presented at the First Conference of Polish and American Historians, sponsored by the institute of history of Warsaw University and the department of history of the University of Iowa, held at Nieborów, Poland, May 27–29, 1974. I wish to record my gratitude to the organizers and participants of the conference, as well as to the sponsoring institutions, for making possible a most useful exchange of views and information. The present article is in the nature of a preliminary report of research in progress as well as a statement of general hypotheses to inform my future work. It is presented with all due modesty and reticence, to elicit comments and criticisms and to initiate a discussion of some institutional and political aspects of modern European history that, in my opinion, have been neglected by recent historiography. The preliminary nature of the article accounts for the incomplete documentary coverage and unsystematic bibliographical apparatus. My work has received much valuable encouragement and assistance, both material and intellectual, from the Max Planck Institut für Geschichte at Göttingen, where I was visiting fellow in 1972 and 1974. I am most grateful to Professor Rudolf Vierhaus, director of the institute, for his constant interest and valuable criticisms and suggestions. Drs. Ernst Hinrichs, Hans Medick, Jürgen Schlumbohm, and Peter Kriedte, members of the institute's modern section, offered much stimulation and thought by their spirited and critical comments.

revolution.¹ We may ask, therefore, whether older administrative practices, mental sets, and political traditions, as well as the leadership of established groups, were not more significant than the demands of an emerging class and the rhetoric of a new ideology.

At the center of any consideration of the significance of the European historical heritage is the question of the roots of "modernity"—that is, the origins of "modernization" as a significant element of the social, economic, and political dynamics of the last century and a half, at first in the West and, more recently, elsewhere on our globe. Without pretending to offer a clear-cut, all-encompassing, and unassailable definition of a phenomenon that has so many facets, it is necessary to suggest at least a working descriptive definition to lend some clarity and cohesion to our discussion and analysis. For heuristic purposes I would suggest the following as conveying the essence of what we call "modern," as opposed to earlier, "traditional" European and non-European patterns of culture: what may be detected in the second half of the seventeenth century—and what emerged into the open in the eighteenth in most of Western and Central Europe—is society's conscious desire to maximize all its resources and to use this new potential dynamically for the enlargement and improvement of its way of life. The potential of resources includes not merely material products and riches, but intellectual and cultural creations as well.² But conscious action implies a goal, and such a goal must be related to a more or less clear notion of the nature of human behavior and social relationships, as well as a scale of ethical norms. This development, as I hope to suggest, had its beginnings in the second half of the seventeenth century and reached its full flowering by the middle of the eighteenth century. The absolute state provided the framework for public, political action, while rationalism gave the philosophic underpinning. If this chronology proves indeed to be correct, then the revolutionary convulsions of the last quarter of the eighteenth century were only aftereffects of the process, rather than its antecedent stimulus.

IT IS A HISTORIOGRAPHICAL CLICHÉ that, since the early sixteenth century, centralizing monarchical absolutism was the ascendant political system in Europe, a system whose precursors were to be found in Burgundy, Tudor England, and late Valois France, while its apogee was reached with Louis XIV. In our context, however, it is more important to note that the system reached an early and full expression, albeit on a small scale, in German

¹ For an insightful and subtle discussion of the dialectics of enlightened absolutism, see Leonard Krieger, *An Essay on the Theory of Enlightened Despotism* (Chicago, 1975).

² For a sweeping survey of the transformation of the material potential, see Fernand Braudel, *Civilisation matérielle et capitalisme (XV^e–XVIII^e siècles)* (Paris, 1967), and for France specifically, Ernest Labrousse et al., *Histoire économique et sociale de la France*, 2 (Paris, 1970). There are also stimulating ideas to be gleaned in Douglass C. North and Robert Paul Thomas, *The Rise of the Western World: A New Economic History* (Cambridge, 1973).

states after the Thirty Years' War. A major factor was the success of the Reformation, which, in eliminating the Church as the main contestant for authority, enabled the prince to become the sole source of all regulatory power in his domains. It may seem ironic that an essentially "medieval" concern for the spiritual paved the way for the prince's new secular power. Indeed the Reformation, by eliminating, in Protestant lands, the traditional ecclesiastic institutions—while emphasizing the ethical concerns of the faith—encouraged the secular power to exercise its authority fully in all domains of public and private life. Since the Church (i.e., the papacy) no longer offered religious guidance and moral control, the prince had to act so that the true Christian moral purpose of society be preserved and fostered. Not surprisingly, therefore, we encounter the first significant examples of the interventionist and regulatory *Polizeistaat* in the Protestant states of Germany, such as Saxony and Hessen, in the second half of the sixteenth century.³ This political pattern, on the model of medieval town and gild controls, took somewhat longer to strike roots in Catholic states, not only in the large ones, such as France and Spain, but also in the smaller principalities of Italy and Germany, where control of public life was shared by the supranational Roman Church and its local institutions.

The Thirty Years' War reinforced the dynamics inherent in this political system. Not only did the ravages of war have to be repaired, but the military revolution of the mid-seventeenth century had created new demands:⁴ the large-scale building of fortifications and strategic roads and the maintenance of permanent, regular armies that fell on the ruler (i.e., the state) instead of the feudal services and private entrepreneurs as of old.⁵ In addition, though in a way difficult to assess specifically, the "baroque spirit" that had captivated most of Europe, even the more puritanical Protestant courts, in the wake of sixteenth-century Spain, involved great public displays which, in

³ Kurt Zielenziger, *Die alten deutschen Kameralisten: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Nationalökonomie und zum Problem des Merkantilismus* (Jena, 1914). For a convenient repertory guide, see Erhard Dittich, *Die deutschen und österreichischen Kameralisten* (Darmstadt, 1974); for a discussion of direct connection with Protestantism, see Franz Lütge, "Luthers Eingreifen in den Bauernkrieg in seinen sozialgeschichtlichen Voraussetzungen und Auswirkungen," in his *Studien zur Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte: Gesammelte Abhandlungen* (Stuttgart, 1963), 112–44, and, more specifically, Ludwig Zimmermann, *Der hessische Territorialstaat im Jahrhundert der Reformation*, 1 (Marburg, 1933–34).

⁴ On the vexed question of the ravages of the Thirty Years' War, see Wilhelm Abel, *Die Wüstungen des ausgehenden Mittelalters: Ein Beitrag zur Siedlungs- und Agrargeschichte Deutschlands* (2d ed.; Stuttgart, 1955); Günther Franz, *Der Dreissigjährige Krieg und das deutsche Volk (Untersuchungen zur Bevölkerungs- und Agrargeschichte)* (3d ed.; Stuttgart, 1961); Franz Lütge, "Die wirtschaftliche Lage Deutschlands vor Ausbruch des 30 jährigen Krieges," *Jahrbuch für Nationalökonomie*, 170 (1958): 43–99; Lütge, "Strukturelle und konjunkturelle Wandlungen in der deutschen Wirtschaft vor Ausbruch des 30 jährigen Krieges," in Bayerische Akademie, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, *Sitzungsberichte*, 5 (1958); and for a somewhat superficial summary, Henry Kamen, "The Economic Consequences of the Thirty Years' War," *Past and Present*, 39 (1968): 44–61.

⁵ Michael Roberts, "The Military Revolution, 1560–1660," in his *Essays in Swedish History* (Minneapolis, 1967), 195–225; Gerhard Oestreich, "Zur Heeresverfassung der deutschen Territorien von 1500 bis 1800," in his *Geist und Gestalt des frühmodernen Staates: Ausgewählte Aufsätze* (Berlin, 1969), 290–310.

turn, required greater domestic productivity and livelier international trade.⁶ The latter was, of course, enhanced by the new fashions and style of life made possible by the colonial expansion overseas.⁷ In spite of the efforts at limiting its scope and effects, the urge to consume, and to consume conspicuously, was growing fast in seventeenth-century Europe.

These circumstances led the state (i.e., the prince and his administration) to act as pump primer in promoting and protecting the productive potential of society. There is no need to stress also the fact that this dynamic intensification of the state's role in the economic, social, and cultural domains was taking place in the context of a Europe divided politically and confessionally. Each state, large or small, endeavored to rely as much as possible on its own resources to provide the wherewith for its military, political, and court establishments in order to maximize its own power and avoid enhancing that of its neighbors.⁸ The result was the set of policies that go under the names of cameralism and mercantilism, policies designed to accumulate monetary reserves and to achieve self-sufficiency through state subsidy, control, and protection.⁹

The theoretical justification of this conception of government presents an interesting blend of the spiritual and material, or secular, as befits Protestantism. The point of departure is the notion of the ruler's duty to safeguard the spiritual life of his subjects, to enable them to live the good Christian life and prepare themselves for salvation. This is nothing more than the medieval conception of life in society, for in this respect the Reformation marked a return to the spiritual traditions of the Middle Ages.¹⁰ In

⁶ Walter Hubatsch, "'Barock' als Epochenbezeichnung?" in Hubatsch, ed., *Absolutismus* (Darmstadt, 1973), 268–87; see also the remarks in Carl Hinrichs, *Friedrich Wilhelm I, König in Preussen: Eine Biographie*, 1 (Hamburg, 1941; rpt., Darmstadt, 1968): bk. 2, ch. 3.

⁷ See, for example, J. H. Parry, "Transport and Trade Routes," and G. B. Masfield, "Crops and Livestock," in *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, 4, ed. E. E. Rich and C. H. Wilson (Cambridge, 1967), chs. 3, 5.

⁸ Otto Hintze, "Machtpolitik und Regierungsverfassung," in his *Staat und Verfassung: Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur allgemeinen Verfassungsgeschichte*, ed. Gerhard Oestreich (2d ed.; Göttingen, 1962), 424–56.

⁹ The discussion concerning the nature of mercantilism and its relationship to cameralism does not seem close to being settled. I incline to the opinion that mercantilism, in the seventeenth century, is best seen as the trade and tariff policy of cameralism, which in turn is a more comprehensive system of national economy. On mercantilism, besides the classic work of Elie Heckscher, see the handy collection edited by D. C. Coleman, *Revisions in Mercantilism* (London, 1969), and Hermann Kellenbenz, "Probleme der Merkantilismusforschung," in XII^e Congrès des sciences historiques—Vienne 1965, *IV Rapports—Méthodologie et histoire contemporaine* (Vienna, 1965), 171–90. For the much-debated problem of the relationship that early modern economic policies bore to the formation of a territorial economic system, see Georg von Below, "Der Untergang der mittelalterlichen Stadtwirtschaft: Über den Begriff der Territorialwirtschaft," in his *Probleme der Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (Tübingen, 1920), 501–620; Hans Spangenberg, *Territorialwirtschaft und Stadtwirtschaft* (Munich, 1932); and Franz Lütge, "Das 14/15. Jahrhundert in der Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte," in his *Studien zur Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 281–335. For a discussion with specific reference to Russia, see Alexander Gerschenkron, *Europe in the Russian Mirror* (Cambridge, 1970). On cameralism as an economic system, see the still useful Albion W. Small, *The Cameralists* (Chicago, 1909); Anton Tautscher, *Staatswirtschaftslehre des Kameralismus* (Bern, 1947); and the bibliographic repertory of Magdalene Humpert, *Bibliographie der Kameralwissenschaften* (Cologne, 1937).

¹⁰ On the Renaissance as a "naturalistic" episode, see the suggestive points made by Robert Lenoble in *Mersenne ou la naissance du mécanisme* (Paris, 1943), introd., ch. 3.

another sense, however, focus on the spiritual also implied active concern for the material as its necessary precondition, and therein lay the modernity of the Reformation—the *vita activa* fully displaced the passive, ascetic ideal of the *vita contemplativa* as the desirable form of the most rewarding Christian way of life.¹¹

Emphasis on the moral and material goals of administration came naturally to a ruler and his government that had to fight for survival on the international stage and at the same time try to benefit from the expanding imperial, cultural, and economic horizons. A strong independent government and a powerful ruler were believed to be the preconditions of the spiritual and material welfare of the subjects, and the latter's happiness was implicitly equated with the maximizing of the creative potential of the state in a God-pleasing manner. One should, therefore, not doubt the sincerity of the eudaemonistic argument that rulers and publicists set forth in the seventeenth century in advocating absolutism and the interventionist *Polizeistaat*. But it is equally important to remember that for seventeenth-century writers eudaemonism was not an end in itself, as it was going to become later, but only a means.¹² The subjects' welfare and prosperity would increase productivity and foster their creative energies and industriousness, which in turn would rebound to the benefit of the state and the ruler's power and provide the proper framework for a Christian way of life.¹³ The full logical and practical implications of this outlook were drawn by Pietism—especially in A. H. Francke's educational and philanthropic institutions at Halle—which stressed the significance of the material world as the means for spiritual goals. Its impact on the administrative and economic policies of Prussia, Saxony, and others is well known.¹⁴

¹¹ The new concept of the proper *vita activa* is also related to the changing view of the pauper and beggar. See Wilbur K. Jordan, *Philanthropy in England, 1480-1660: A Study in the Changing Pattern of English Social Aspirations* (New York, 1959; rpt., New York, 1964); Jean-Pierre Gutton, *La Société et les pauvres: L'exemple de la généralité de Lyon, 1534-1789* (Paris, 1971); and his more recent summary of the problem on a European-wide scale, *La société et les pauvres en Europe (XVI^e-XVIII^e siècles)* (Paris, 1974).

¹² Kurt Wölzendorff, *Der Polizeibegriff des modernen Staates* (Breslau, 1918). The sixteenth-century roots are traced to Melanchthon by Ludwig Zimmermann: "Die 'Ordnung' ist daher Verwirklichung des gemeinen Nutzens. Für Melanchthon ist der *ordo politicus* geradezu gleichbedeutend mit *salus publica*. Er sieht die Geschichte im Sinne optimistischen Fortschritts"; and he concludes, "Der *gemeine nutz* wird das Bildungsideal religiös-sittlicher Erziehung, welche Kirche und Staat zu vollziehen haben. Der Staat ist ein *paedagogicum virtutis*, seine Politik richtet sich auf *foelicitatis progressum*, ihr letztes Ziel ist die ewige Seligkeit." *Der hessische Territorialstaat*, 1: 384, 386, italics in original. For a general summary of the eudaemonic intent in German law, see Walther Merk, *Der Gedanke des gemeinen Besten in der deutschen Staats- und Rechtsentwicklung* (Darmstadt, 1968).

¹³ The early eighteenth-century practitioner and publicist, Bernhardt von Rohr summarizes: "Wenn man erwäget, wie das Interesse des Herrn und die Glückseligkeit des Landes und seiner Untertanen genau miteinander vereint . . . so dass dem Landesherren unmöglich wohl sein kann, wenn nicht den Untertanen auch mit zugleich wohl ist." *Einleitung zur Staats-Klugheit, oder Vorstellung wie christliche und weise Regenten zur Beförderung ihrer eigenen und ihres Landes Glückseligkeit ihre Untertanen zu beherrschen pflegen* (Leipzig, 1717), 838, spelling and punctuation have been modernized.

¹⁴ Carl Hinrichs, *Preussentum und Pietismus: Der Pietismus in Brandenburg-Preussen als religiös-soziale Reformbewegung* (Göttingen, 1971); Eduard Winter, *Halle als Ausgangspunkt der deutschen Russlandkunde im 18. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1953); Józef A. Gierowski, "Pietyzm

By the beginning of the eighteenth century the responsibility for this goal was thrust onto the person (i.e., the ruler) or single secular institution (i.e., the state) through the virtual elimination of all other institutions that the Middle Ages had developed to this same end—the Church, monastic orders, and fraternities.¹⁵ As a result, the traditional mandate of government (i.e., rulership) shifted from the passive duty of preserving justice to the active, dynamic task of fostering the productive energies of society and providing the appropriate institutional framework for it.¹⁶ Clearly ambiguity was built into the approach from the start, since it wavered between repressive controls and the encouragement of enterprise and initiative.

It seemed in fact to be an uneasy compromise between the passivity of traditionalism and the dynamism of modernity. It was the obligation of the ruler, while preserving harmony and justice (*sum cuique tribuere*), to initiate the necessary measures and regulations—the more so as the obligation coincided with the prevalent philosophic rationalism. As the Divine Maker has put into motion the well-regulated mechanism of nature and has kept it in operation by means of rational laws, so should the ruler enact the laws and regulations that shape society and keep it on the right path.¹⁷ This is the conception that is at the root of the drive for centralization and uniformity, as well as of the excessive mania for regulation that we observe in the absolute monarchies of the later seventeenth century. Naturally, within the constricted framework of the middling and petty states of Germany, this centralism and regulatory bent easily led to the tyrannical control and supervision of every facet of public and economic life that may be observed in their legislative sources, the *Landes- und Polizeiordnungen*. But it is particularly important to stress that, as in the case of eudaemonism, the detailed and petty regulations were but means for the realization of the essential purpose: the maximizing of all the creative energies and potential

na ziemiach Polskich do połowy XVIII wieku" (Pietism in Polish Lands to the Middle of the Eighteenth Century), *Sobótka* (St. John's Eve), 1972, no. 2, pp. 237–61.

¹⁵ *Mutatis mutandis*, this also applied to Catholic states. On the interesting consequences at the end of the eighteenth century in France, for example, see the fascinating study of Maurice Agulhon, *Pénitents et Francs-Maçons de l'ancienne Provence* (Paris, 1968).

¹⁶ Besides the classic histories of medieval political thought by Otto von Guericke, R. W. and A. J. Carlyle, and Walter Ullmann, see the stimulating and penetrating remarks by Michel Villey, *La formation de la pensée juridique moderne* (Paris, 1968).

¹⁷ "Wie die Welt und das Naturgeschehen einem Vernunftschema eingegliedert wird, so bricht sich auch die Vorstellung Bahn, dass die wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Beziehungen des Menschen zu einander mit ihren Zielen und Zwecken restlos durch die Verstandeskraft begriffen und deshalb auch nach menschlichem Ermessen und Vernunftserwägungen gemeistert werden, menschlichen Willensäußerungen unbedingt dienstbar gemacht werden und untergeordnet werden können. Denn dies ist die stillschweigend angenommene Basis der merkantilistischen Wirtschaftspolitik: auch auf das Wirtschaftsleben wird das Geltungsgebiet der menschlichen Gesetzgebung ausgedehnt, wie auch der Kosmos Gesetzen gehorcht. . . . Das Postulat jener Geistesrichtung, das Weltbild und seine Gestaltung durch die Vernunft lückenlos zu begreifen, führt auch zwingend zur logischen Konsequenz, diesen Ablauf durch vernunftmäßige Willensäußerungen zu bezwingen und willkürlich zu verändern. . . . Die ganze Wirtschaftspolitik des Zeitalters ist durchtränkt vom Glauben an die Allmacht eines staatlichen Willens." Luise Sommer, *Die österreichischen Kameralisten*, 1 (Vienna, 1920): 90–92, italics in original.

resources of a stable and harmonious society so as to further the spiritual and political ends set by God through natural law.

It is not necessary to dwell on the well-researched problem of the relationship between absolute rulers and estates.¹⁸ Their conflict, of course, dominated the political life of German states, as well as elsewhere, from the sixteenth century on. It would be fair, I think, to conclude that in the end the rulers triumphed, even though in many cases the estates retained some authority or subsequently reasserted their power in times of crisis. What is more significant in our context is that in many respects the rulers cooperated, or were brought to cooperate, with the representatives and functionaries of the estates, who thus contributed in significant ways to the regulatory and bureaucratic administration of the princes. The police ordinances of the latter half of the seventeenth century are noteworthy for the extent to which they rely on existing estate and corporative institutions and mechanisms to implement controls and regulations. Only a few new offices were created or officials appointed to enforce these controls and regulations. Essentially the task was delegated to existing functionaries, and, wherever possible, it was carried out with the help of corporations and other constituted bodies.¹⁹ What was new is the greater degree of control and supervision exercised over the activities of these officials and institutions by the prince's councils and central offices. The officials became increasingly mere executors of the instructions and orders emanating from the center, which provided rational and comprehensive direction. Here, again, old institutional forms and means were used to achieve new, modernizing ends.

Quite clearly, the primary concern of the governments was to protect and foster the interests of those corporations and constituted bodies whose industry and productive potential were most beneficial. This did not mean the elimination of traditional social hierarchies and structures; quite the contrary. Yet it resulted in the government endeavoring to promote and favor all those members who worked in a way beneficial to the state's ultimate interests, as they were conceived in terms of the notions I have described. The state acted as arbiter—that is, as protector—of traditional

¹⁸ The literature on this question is immense. For German lands specifically, see F. L. Carsten, *Princes and Parliaments in Germany from the Fifteenth to the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 1959); Dietrich Gerhard, ed., *Ständische Vertretungen in Europa im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen, 1969); Gerhard, "Regionalismus und ständisches Wesen als ein Grundthema europäischer Geschichte," *Historische Zeitschrift*, 174 (1952): 303–37; and Helmut G. Koenigsberger, *Estates and Revolutions: Essays in Early Modern European History* (Ithaca, 1971).

¹⁹ Carl-August Agenga, *Der Amtmann im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Richter- und Beamtentums* (Göttingen, 1972); Roland Mousnier, "État et commissaire: Recherches sur la création des intendants de province," in his *La plume, la faucille et le marteau* (Paris, 1970), 179–200; and the classic essays of Otto Hintze, "Die Wurzeln der Kreisverfassung in den Ländern des nordöstlichen Deutschlands" and "Der Commissarius und seine Bedeutung in der allgemeinen Verwaltungsgeschichte," both in his *Staat und Verfassung, 186–215, 242–74*, and "Der Ursprung des preussischen Landratsamts in der Mark Brandenburg," in his *Regierung und Verwaltung: Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Staats-, Rechts- und Sozialgeschichte Preussens*, ed. Gerhard Oestreich (Göttingen, 1967), 164–203.

useful bodies and as promoter of new interests. Cameralist police and mercantilist economic policies pursued exactly this same aim. If the peasantry had the short end of it, it was not only because of the ruler's desire to protect and placate "feudal interests"; it was mainly due to the conviction, based on prevailing experience, that there was a narrow range to the productive potential of the peasant, and the extent of this range did not depend primarily on the peasant's status.²⁰ It was sufficient to promote his security, it was felt, and to succor him in case of direst need. That is why the earlier regulations of agriculture and country life were limited in scope. It was only in the latter half of the eighteenth century, after it had been realized that agriculture, too, had a potential for dynamic expansion, that there developed more active legislation to promote the modernization of the countryside and agriculture.²¹ We may conclude, paradoxically, that classes (in the Marxist sense of groups defined by their members' role and interest in the prevailing modes of production rather than by their social status and function) were the result of the encouragement and stimulation provided by the initiatives of the well-ordered *Polizeistaat*. By intervening in the daily activities of its subjects and by fostering the maximum utilization of all resources and creative energies, the absolutist state undermined the estate structure, on which it often relied in practice and promoted the dynamics of modernization and the formation of classes.

At the core of the system there was a profound contradiction between its fundamental aims and purposes, on the one hand, and the means it resorted to, on the other. First, there was ambiguity concerning the relative place and role held by the individual and by the group. Quite clearly, on the basis of a rationalist and mechanistic *Weltanschauung*, leadership must belong to the single person of the individual ruler.²² Reliance on the individual would

²⁰ For an example of an early rural *Polizeiordnung*, see "Landesordnung des Fürsten Christian I vom Jahre 1607," in *Mittheilungen des Vereins für anhaltische Geschichte und Alterthumskunde*, vol. 2, pt. 7 (1880): 527–38. On the limits of agrarian growth potential, see the excellent little summary by Wilhelm Abel, *Massenarmut und Hungerkrisen im vorindustriellen Deutschland* (Göttingen, 1972).

²¹ André J. Bourde, *Agronomie et agronomes en France au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1970); Guy Ferry and Jacques Mulliez, *L'état et la rénovation de l'agriculture au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1970); Ambroise Jobert, *Magnats polonais et physiocrates français, 1767–1774* (Paris, 1941); Helen P. Liebel, *Enlightened Bureaucracy versus Enlightened Despotism in Baden, 1750–1792* (Philadelphia, 1965). As these studies, among many, show, the impulse came from England—though Dutch models inspired some late seventeenth-century ordinances—but progress was slow because of the limitations of capital and resources.

²² The theoretician of this outlook, Christian Wolff, wrote: "On verra ainsi que la République ne sera heureuse que lorsque les affaires publiques seront dirigées par une *théorie certaine*. . . . Cette théorie se trouve dans le *monde rationnel* qui comprend toutes les vérités universelles dont la philosophie, traitée avec une méthode scientifique, est la Description." *Le Philosophe-roi et le Roi-philosophe*, pt. 2: *La théorie des affaires publiques* (Berlin, 1740), 113, 121, italics in original. And his pragmatic follower Frederick II put it somewhat later in more telling words: "Un corps de lois parfaites ferait le chef d'oeuvre de l'esprit humain, dans ce qui regarde la politique du gouvernement; on y remarquerait une unité de dessein et des règles si exactes et si proportionnées, qu'un état conduit par ces lois ressemblerait à une montre dont tous les ressorts ont été faits pour un même but . . . tout serait prévu, tout serait

also be implied in the maximizing of all creative potentials, for they are the result of the creative efforts of individuals in their respective spheres of action. On the other hand, reliance on the existing corporations, estates, and institutions, and their functionaries, as well as a belief in the harmonious interaction and functioning of the several estates in the total economy of society, implies the subordination of the individual's interests and concerns to those of the group. It means stressing the duties of the individual rather than his rights, and it has for its effect the downgrading of the individual in favor of the community, as personalized by the ruler or materialized in the state.²³ While easily justifying sacrifices for the common weal, this point of view may also stifle those individuals and selfish drives that have frequently been at the origin of many creative innovations and have contributed to society's material and spiritual wealth.

In the second place, there is also an inbuilt contradiction in fostering individual creativity by means of centralized and directed controls. It was believed that such *dirigisme* would bring creativity to its highest pitch, while at the same time directing it into useful channels of innovation and dynamic progress. This was not to be, especially in view of the insistence on religious uniformity and sociocultural conformity. Again this approach proved particularly stifling in the petty states of Germany, though its disastrous implications became glaringly apparent in the case of France as well, when Louis XIV imposed religious uniformity by revoking the Edict of Nantes, or in the case of Russia's persecution of Old Believers.²⁴

THE APPLICATION OF A MECHANISTIC VIEW of the world to the sphere of government and the belief in voluntaristic state direction for maximizing the potential of society entailed active intervention and supervision on the part of prince and administrators. If government or ruler were to be initiators, they had to have a proper corps of assistants and a corpus of new administrative techniques. The traditional type of official was obviously ill suited to this end, as he operated on the basis of custom and *ad hoc* decisions in negative restraint rather than in constructive action.

Two features of the new administrative practice deserve to be mentioned here: routinization, in Max Weber's sense of the term, implied the separation of government activities from other public and private concerns, so as

combiné, et rien ne serait sujet à des inconvénients; mais les choses parfaites ne sont pas du ressort de l'humanité." "Dissertation sur les raisons d'établir ou d'abroger les lois," in *Oeuvres complètes de Frédéric II roi de Prusse* (n.p., 1790), 7: 109, spelling modernized.

²³ Fritz Valjavec, *Geschichte der abendländischen Aufklärung* (Vienna, 1961); Hans M. Wolff, *Die Weltanschauung der deutschen Aufklärung in geschichtlicher Entwicklung* (Bern, 1963).

²⁴ Erich Haase, *Einführung in die Literatur des Refuge* (Berlin, 1959). On the Old Believers, see Gerschenkron, *Europe in the Russian Mirror*, and Robert E. Crummey, *The Old Believers and the World of Antichrist* (Madison, 1970).

to lend to official acts more authority and free them as much as possible from personal relationships and influences by making them more "objective" and regular. It meant, in short, to endow the administration with the arcane aura of the distinct and objective, and hence the superior.²⁵ It also served to instill in the population the notion of the state as a separate, autonomous entity with its own—not merely the ruler's—goals, interests, and needs. Inasmuch as the administration was the source of the guidance, furtherance, and control of all potential energies, it had also a didactic function in familiarizing the people with its designs and goals. To our eyes, the minute and petty prescriptions for the operation of offices and clerkships to be found in many *Polizeiordnungen* and learned treatises of cameralist writers may seem naive or slightly ridiculous. But they are illustrative of the new concerns of government; the instruments of administration were coming to be as important as the ends they served or promoted, and they were acquiring a life of their own, becoming an end in themselves. The very routine of government operations threatened to swallow up the purpose for which it had been introduced, and the personnel of administration—the bureaucracy—was evolving into a separate class with its own specific interests, interests that were identified with those of the state rather than with those of a particular estate. The arrogance and self-righteousness of administrative power that reached the extreme degree we observe in the Russia of Peter the Great or the Austria of Joseph II take their roots in this development.

What has frequently been considered a particular manifestation of the brutal didacticism of Peter I of Russia, of his desire to civilize his society at one blow and to establish rigid and all-pervading state controls over all aspects of public and private life, was, in fact, nothing but a straight copying and translating of earlier German *Kanzleiordnungen*.²⁶ And Peter's rough and outspoken style has its match in the earthy language of the *roi sergent*. The didactic success of *Kanzleiordnungen* in introducing a new administrative outlook and practice may be inferred from the fact that half a century later standard authors of treatises of administration did not need to go into as much detail as had Seckendorff, for the procedures had come to be taken for granted.²⁷ The process of assimilation was slower in Russia, as may be gathered from the detailed regulations and forms still prescribed

²⁵ Volker Press, *Calvinismus und Territorialstaat: Regierung und Zentralbehörden der Kurpfalz, 1559–1619* (Stuttgart, 1970), and for the Russian case, see the suggestive ideas of Michael Cherniavsky, "The Old Believers and the New Religion," *Slavic Review*, 15 (1966): 1–39.

²⁶ See, for instance, the *Kanzleiordnung* dated December 15, 1684, in C. G. Appel, ed., *Sammlung Fürstlich-hessischer Landesordnungen und Ausschreiben . . .*, pt. 3: 1671–1729 (Cassel, 1770), no. 409; see also Veit Ludwig von Seckendorff, *Teutscher Fürstenstaat* (1656; rev. ed., Jena, 1737; rpt., Aalen, 1972), pt. 2, ch. 6. And see Horst Kraemer, *Der deutsche Kleinstaat des 17. Jahrhunderts im Spiegel von Seckendorffs 'Teutscher Fürstenstaat'* (Darmstadt, 1974).

²⁷ For example, Christian A. Beck, *Versuch einer Staatspraxis oder Canzleiübung aus der Politik, dem Staat- und Völkerrechte* (Vienna, 1754). In contrast to Seckendorff, see any of the better-known treatises on *Polizeiwissenschaft* by Johann Heinrich Gottlob von Justi, Joachim Georg Darjes, and Joseph von Sonnenfels.

by the imperial administration at the end of the eighteenth century.²⁸ In addition, the same formulas and rules were repeated each time a new institution was set up, although the basic pattern was supposed to have been set once and for all by the "General'nyi reglament" of Peter the Great.²⁹ The "enlightened" absolutism of Frederick II or Joseph II, which depended so much on administrative guidance and action, would have been inconceivable without this late seventeenth-century "rationalization" of chancery procedures. Even the notion of the abstract interest of the state taking precedence over the prince's private interests, which found expression in the well-known formula attributed to Frederick II that "the king is the first servant of the state," had its antecedents in the chancery and cameralist writings of the late seventeenth century.³⁰ Peter I's similar statements are but a more explicit and secular expression of sentiments that have their root in the Protestant notion of the prince's calling and Christian obligation to the welfare of his subjects. Of course there was much self-serving in this rhetoric, but its thrust is to be taken seriously. "L'état, c'est moi" did not mean only that "I am the state" but also that "the state is in me," that is, I am its fullest expression and its principal organ.³¹

An increasingly strong stress on the secular side of public life is an oft-noticed characteristic of cameralism and absolutism. The well-ordered police state was concerned with the promotion of rational organization of all public activity, including the ecclesiastic sphere. An interesting illustration may be found in the very beginning of the eighteenth century—long before the impact of the philosophes' writings—in the revised Church ordinance of the principality of Hessen, which, for the first time since the sixteenth century, concerned the proper policing of public worship. In specifying the order of admission to Holy Communion the ordinance stresses disregard of social and official rank. The reason given is the prevention of arguments and quarrels about precedence. But at the same time the ordinance states the government's belief in the equality of all subjects before God and the priority of public order, so that precedence should be based only on a person's proximity to the altar, with no consideration to status or rank.³² This detail, though admittedly minor, is notable since we may infer that in

²⁸ For example, order of A. A. Viazemskii, Sept. 13, 1784, Central State Archives of Old Charters in Moscow (hereafter TsGADA), *fond* 248, no. 6,570, fols. 8–12.

²⁹ "General'nyi reglament" (General Regulation), Feb. 28, 1720, in *Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossiiskoi imperii* (Complete Collection of Laws of the Russian Empire), 1st ser. (hereafter PSZ) (St. Petersburg, 1830), vol. 6, no. 3,534.

³⁰ And, of course, the religious motivation dates back to the Reformation. Seckendorff, *Teutscher Fürstenstaat*, and von Rohr, *Einleitung zur Staats-Klugheit*, give good formulations. Their near contemporary, Jacob Döpler, still puts the religious motivation in almost medieval terms in *Treuer Herr / Treuer Knecht* (Leipzig, 1694).

³¹ Fritz Hartung, "L'état c'est moi," *Historische Zeitschrift*, 169 (1949): 1–30.

³² Church ordinance, Nov. 24, 1702, in Appel, *Sammlung Fürstlich-hessischer Landesordnungen*, no. 571. The ideas of religious toleration and the noninterference into basic Church matters by even the pious ruler are well developed by von Rohr, *Einleitung zur Staats-Klugheit*, 260–63.

earlier regulations it was taken for granted that precedence would be based on traditional status. The close similarity with Peter I's legislation in replacing traditional hierarchies by a more mechanical and rational "Table of Ranks" readily springs to mind.³³

Similarly it was thought that the state should be concerned about educating its future citizens, especially its future administrators.³⁴ It is no accident that in view of their need for new parish clergy the Protestant princes took the initiative in creating universities in German lands. As a result, the sixteenth and especially the seventeenth centuries witnessed the emergence of the university-trained official as the principal adviser to the ruler.³⁵ While in Catholic countries the public role of the universities was on the decline, the Protestant universities were modernizing (*aggiornamento* would be the fitting word) their programs to provide training not only for their pastors but for their jurists, physicians, and scholars as well. In this manner, by the end of the seventeenth century many leading universities had become major avenues for the modernization of public life.³⁶ The high point of this development was the founding of the University of Halle—specifically the establishment of a chair in cameral studies—to prepare students for the *vita activa* in public affairs while imbuing them with the ethical and spiritual values of Pietism and with their responsibilities as leaders and teachers. The Pietist foundation in Halle stimulated the reform of other universities, particularly at Leipzig and Frankfurt an der Oder and paved the way for the new creation of Göttingen. All of these universities were to become important centers of natural law doctrines as expounded by Christian Thomasius and Christian Wolff and of the subsequent German *Aufklärung*.³⁷

We note that this development in German intellectual life has a seventeenth-century origin; the university ordinances for Marburg, for instance, show an awareness of the need for professional training for state service.³⁸ If we compare the language of these Hessian university ordinances with

³³ "Tabel' o rangakh" (Table of Ranks), Jan. 24, 1722, in PSZ, vol. 6, no. 3,890.

³⁴ For example, consider the creation of a *collegium illustre* in Tübingen, Marburg, and Cassel; and for the less well-known academic gymnasium at Zerbst, see Franz Kindscher, "Das hochfürstliche anhaltische akademische Gesammtgymnasium zu Zerbst unter Kannengiesser (1662–1680)," in *Mittheilungen des Vereins für anhaltische Geschichte und Alterthumskunde*, vol. 6, pt. 2 (1892): 284–301.

³⁵ Interesting data may be gleaned from the several essays collected in Günther Franz, ed., *Beamtentum und Pfarrertum, 1400–1800* (Limburg an der Lahn, 1972), and in Helmut Rössler and Günther Franz, eds., *Universität und Gelehrtenstand* (Limburg an der Lahn, 1970). For legal education at universities, see first of all histories of the major universities; see also Erich Döhring, *Geschichte der deutschen Rechtspflege* (Berlin, 1953), and Alfred de Curzon, *L'enseignement du droit français dans les universités de France aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles* (Paris, 1920).

³⁶ For the situation in Hessen, see Wolfgang Metz, "Das Eindringen des Bürgertums in die hessische Zentralverwaltung," typescript (Göttingen, 1947).

³⁷ Hans Maier, *Die ältere deutsche Staats- und Verwaltungslehre (Polizeiwissenschaft): Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der politischen Wissenschaft in Deutschland* (Neuwied, 1966); Notker Hammerstein, *Jus und Historie: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des historischen Denkens an deutschen Universitäten im späten 17. und im 18. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen, 1972).

³⁸ University ordinance, 1684, in Appel, *Sammlung Fürstlich-hessischer Landesordnungen*, no. 410.

that of later Russian edicts on education we detect an unmistakable similarity in tone. True, in the Russian case stress is on the development of "useful" noble subjects, as well as trained personnel, while at Marburg there still is an emphasis on the preparation of pastors. But we must not forget the secular functions of the Protestant minister, especially in the countryside. And we are again on familiar territory when we compare the Hessian ordinances with some of the proposals for reforming ecclesiastical schools and the training of priests in the reign of Catherine II.³⁹ The time lag should not surprise us in view of Russia's condition. We clearly are in the presence of a continuum in time for over a century and in space from the Rhine to the Volga, rather than of discrete periods and regions defined in terms of the spread of the ideas of the French Enlightenment.

Even a hasty perusal of collections of police ordinances indicates that the major elements of what we usually subsume under Enlightenment notions were, in the latter decades of the seventeenth century, being introduced pragmatically, in competition to the earlier regulatory and directive approaches. Thus, for instance, we note rational persuasion and appeal to individual initiative and self-interest in the Hessian regulations concerning reforestation and the planting of fruit trees.⁴⁰ Similar elements of freedom of individual activity as a prerequisite of individual self-development can be detected in legislation affecting such areas as health, military recruitment, and the regulation of trades and crafts. To be sure, in every case the political unit is rather limited, and it is still conceived as part of a system of separate and discrete units rather than as part of an all-European polity, or even humanity as a whole, as was the case in the second half of the eighteenth century.⁴¹

As a rule the German ordinances concerning the police (in the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century sense of the term, of course) relied for their implementation on existing corporate bodies and functionaries or on officials already in place. And if a new office was created, it was usually staffed by someone representing the corporate or constituted body most directly affected by the new regulation, as for example in the Hessian ordinances concerning the French Huguenot refugees: police and judiciary functions with

³⁹ On Russian education in the eighteenth century, see in particular Mikhail F. Vladimirkii-Budanov, *Gosudarstvo i narodnoe obrazovanie v Rossii XVIII-go veka* (The State and Public Education in Eighteenth-Century Russia) (Yaroslavl, 1874), and Pavel N. Miliukov, *Ocherki po istorii russkoi kul'tury* (Essay on the History of Russian Culture), 3 (Paris, 1930). For ecclesiastical schools specifically, see Petr V. Znamenskii, *Dukhovnye shkoly v Rossii do reformy 1808 g.* (Ecclesiastical Schools in Russia Prior to the Reforms of 1808) (Kazan, 1881). Catherine's notions for the education and role of the parish clergy are briefly discussed in my study, "The Empress and the Vinerian Professor," *Oxford Slavonic Papers*, n.s. 7 (Oxford, 1974): 18-41.

⁴⁰ See especially the edicts of 1707, 1713, 1721, 1722, and 1724 on the planting of trees, in *Hessische Polizey Verordnungen die Hude, Gärten und Plantagen betreffend, 1647-1745* (n.d., n.p.), not paginated, a partly handwritten collection for didactic purposes.

⁴¹ A certain August Witzman writes around 1790: "Il faut pour ainsi dire considérer toute l'Europe comme une grande ville commerçante et les différents états comme autant de magasins de marchandises." Memorandum, n.d., Leningrad Section of Institute of History, Academy of Sciences of the USSR, Leningrad, *fond 36*, no. 451, fol. 160.

respect to the refugees were to be taken care of in part by existing Hessian officials and in part by functionaries selected from among the French Huguenots themselves.⁴² A very different situation obtained in Russia, especially with the regular police functions that had already been developed in Western and Central European states. Introducing modern administration and police, the Petrine state had to create new officials for the purpose. True, they were frequently drawn from the social group most directly affected by the legislation,⁴³ but it was a compulsory draft that transformed them into virtual state servants and made them responsible for the actions of their fellows. The paradoxical consequence was that there was, simultaneously, a delay in the formation of a professional bureaucracy for the local institutions and the prevention of the restructuring of social groups along self-governing, corporate principles.

In essence, Peter I and his successors were closely following the model offered to them by the police ordinances of the German states. But the interesting differences in the consequences and subsequent evolution stemmed from the means that were at the disposal of the Russian rulers. The explanation was not in the more impulsive, direct, and brutally coercive Russian ways. The main point is that the Russian sovereigns could not rely on those social resources that were available to their European models, largely as a result of sixteenth-century policies and development.⁴⁴ They had to create the social matrix, which already existed in the West, as well as the instruments, as did their models, in order to make their reforms stick. But in pursuing both ends they undermined the effective growth potential of each. In Central Europe the old estates were firmly set and could be put to use, even though in the final analysis the new policies and developments were to threaten their nature and very survival. But in Russia the old "estates," to the extent that they existed at all,⁴⁵ could not be used,

⁴² Hessian ordinances concerning Huguenot refugees, 1688 and Oct. 13, 1700, in Appel, *Sammlung Fürstlich-hessischer Landesordnungen*, nos. 437, 439, 531. These may be contrasted to the bureaucratic approach of Catherine in setting up a chancery for the guardianship of foreign settlers. "Kantseliariia po opekunstvu inostrannykh kolonistov," July 22, 1763, in *PSZ*, vol. 16, no. 11,881.

⁴³ For example, merchants were selected for membership in the Glavnyi Magistrat, a sort of city council. See "Reglament ili ustav Glavnogo Magistrata" (Regulation or Statute of the Main Magistracy), Jan. 16, 1721, in *PSZ*, vol. 6, no. 3,708.

⁴⁴ Herman Rehm, "Die rechtliche Natur des Staatsdienstes," in Georg Hirth and Max Seydel, eds., *Annalen des deutschen Reiches*, vol. 17, nos. 10-12 (Munich, 1884): 565-792; Georg von Below, "Die Neuorganisation der Verwaltung in den deutschen Territorien des 16. Jahrhunderts," in his *Territorium und Stadt* (2d ed.; Munich, 1923), 194-208; Heinz Dollinger, *Studien zur Finanzreform Maximilians I von Bayern in den Jahren 1598-1618: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Frühabolutismus* (Göttingen, 1968).

⁴⁵ On the vexed question of estates in Russia, see, for example, J. L. Keep, "The Moscovite Elite and the Approach to Pluralism," *Slavonic and East European Review*, 47 (1970): 201-31; Günther Stökl, "Gab es im Moskauer Staat Stände?" *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, 11 (1963): 321-42; and, most impressively, Hans-Joachim Torke, *Die staatsbedingte Gesellschaft im Moskauer Reich: Zar und Zemlja in der altrussischen Herrschaftsverfassung, 1613-1689* (Leiden, 1974).

and it was necessary to create a social matrix from which the ministers of the new administrative apparatus might be drawn. If the problem was not entirely clear to Peter I, it was to become quite obvious to his later successors.

THE FULL PRACTICAL FORMULATION of the principal aspirations and thrust of what we are wont to call the well-ordered police state can be found not only in the words and deeds of such energetic rulers as Frederick William I of Prussia⁴⁶ but also in a treatise that was widely read and used by administrators throughout the eighteenth century. It is the first treatise on police (in the early eighteenth-century meaning of the term) by Nicolas de LaMare.⁴⁷ First it should be noted that de LaMare acknowledges fully the debt contemporary police notions and practices owed to medieval precedents. He sees a straight line of development in police legislation from the early Valois rulers to Louis XIV, and in a sense the well-ordered police state is for him little more than the medieval urban community writ large on a territorial scale. LaMare correctly underscored the atomized nature of the contemporary system of states with each state a self-contained, autarkical unit. But he also gave expression to the more modern, dynamic conceptions of government that had been introduced in the seventeenth century, pragmatically in France, more systematically in the German states. The purpose of all government is to maximize resources and unfold the potential of energies of a nation, and to this end the government should have concern for the general welfare, both spiritual and material, of the population. Police is the means by which this goal is best pursued.⁴⁸ But the implication clearly seems to be that where the pattern of traditional institutions has broken down or is nonexistent, the function of police is to create or re-create it; this was the voluntaristic implication and modern thrust to be derived from a reading of the *Traité de police*.

⁴⁶ R. A. Dorwart, *The Administrative Reforms of Frederick William I of Prussia* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953); Dorwart, *The Prussian Welfare State before 1740* (Cambridge, Mass., 1971). For the broader context of the baroque world, see Hinrichs, *Friedrich Wilhelm I*.

⁴⁷ Nicolas de LaMare, *Traité de police* (Paris, 1722; 2d ed., expanded, Amsterdam, 1729).

⁴⁸ "J'ay ensuite montré que son [police] unique objet consiste à conduire l'homme à sa plus parfaite félicité dont il puisse jouir en cette vie. . . . On y découvre en même temps combien cette Police que nous suivons a de conformité avec les Loix du Droit naturel et qui ont commencé d'être suivies dès le premier âge du monde. . . . Les Loix . . . ont la droite raison pour cause efficiente, le bonheur des Peuples, le bien et le repos des Etats pour fin. Les Loix n'ont pas seulement pour objet de punir les vices, mais encore d'exciter à la pratique de toutes les vertus." De LaMare, *Traité de police* (2d ed.), preface, pp. 4, 240. And note a later statement, derived from de LaMare, of much more sweeping import: "La police . . . renferme l'universalité des soins relatifs à l'administration du bien public, le choix et l'emploi des moyens propres à le procurer, à l'accroître, à le perfectionner. Elle est, on peut le dire, la science de gouverner les hommes et de leur faire du bien, la manière de les rendre, autant qu'il est possible, ce qu'ils doivent être pour l'intérêt général de la société." J. B. Ch. LeMaire, "La police de Paris en 1770: Mémoire rédigé par les ordres de Mr. de Sartine," in A. Gazier, ed., *Mémoires de la société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Île de France*, 5 (Paris, 1879): 27-28.

Catherine II of Russia was one of the treatise's readers.⁴⁹ It is interesting to note the way she approached the problem of a well-ordered police state and in what manner she differed in doing so from her imperial predecessor Peter I. Catherine II is frequently seen as one of the exemplars of enlightened absolutism, the enlightenment elements being inferred from the rhetoric of her famous instruction to the commission on legislation (1767) and her correspondence with Voltaire and Baron Grimm. But with equal justification, to my mind, she may be ranked among the great cameralist rulers, alongside the late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century German princes from whom she stemmed, but with some interesting qualifications.⁵⁰ In her legislation we find the logical extension of a social policy paving the way for modernization while also displaying all the ambiguities of the *Polizeistaat* approach.

The well-known, but still inadequately studied, "Ustav blagochiniia" (1782), echoes the approach of an earlier century while also drawing on more recent German models.⁵¹ Like its earlier sixteenth-century German antecedents, it has a strong moralistic bias indicating the ruler's awareness of a special responsibility for the spiritual well-being and progress of her subjects. In Catherine's statute there is a combination of moral obiter dicta and of modern Western European and scriptural precepts, a combination we find readily duplicated in the ordinances of Protestant princes in the age of Reformation. While conceivably some of the language of Catherine's didactic section—the so-called "Mirror"—may have indeed been derived from de LaMare, in this respect the latter also reflects an earlier tradition.⁵² As a matter of fact, Catherine's "Mirror" is a worthy successor of the moral and didactic preambles and disquisitions to be found in the legislation of Peter I, and it would seem to indicate that neither ruler nor ruled in Russia had progressed very far since the early eighteenth century.

In the rather comprehensive articles of the "Ustav blagochiniia" concerning the policing of towns, Catherine followed cameralist ideas and the prac-

⁴⁹ Vladimir Grigor'ev, "Zertsalo upravy blagochiniia (epizod iz istorii Ustava blagochiniia 1782 g.)" (The Mirror of the Police Administration [An Episode from the History of the Police Statute]), *Russkii istoricheskii zhurnal* (Russian Historical Journal), 1917, nos. 3-4, pp. 73-103.

⁵⁰ On Catherine's sources for her instruction, see Catherine II, *Nakaz imperatritsy Ekateriny II, dannyi kommissii o sochinenii proekta novogo ulozheniia* (The Instruction of Empress Catherine II to the Commission on the Compilation of a Proposed New Law Code), ed. N. D. Chechulin (St. Petersburg, 1907), and F. V. Taranovskii, "Politicheskaiia doktrina v nakaze imperatritsy Ekateriny II" (The Political Doctrine in the Instruction of Empress Catherine II), in M. N. Iasinskii, ed., *Sbornik stat'ei po istorii prava, posveshchennye M. F. Vladimirovskomu-Budanovu* (Collection of Articles on the History of Law Dedicated to M. F. Vladimirovskii-Budanov) (Kiev, 1904), 44-86.

⁵¹ "Ustav blagochiniia" (Statute on Police), Apr. 8, 1782, in *PSZ*, vol. 21, no. 15,379.

⁵² Article 41 of the "Statute on Police" (included in section D, "Instructions to the Police Administration") is generally called *zertsalo* (or "Mirror"), in imitation of the moral-didactic genre of the *Fürstenspiegel*. It contains general moral injunctions and rules of civilized behavior. Catherine's sources for this section are discussed by Grigor'ev, "Zertsalo upravy blagochiniia." In my opinion, Grigor'ev focuses too narrowly on possible verbatim borrowings from de LaMare's *Traité de police*.

tice of seventeenth-century German ordinances.⁵³ The "Ustav blagochiniia," as it attempts to regulate and supervise all aspects of urban life, has the same comprehensiveness; it also exhibits the same intention to provide security and to maximize the creative potential of the urban population, so that it can play its assigned role in the total economy of the state. On the other hand, the Russian statute has an inordinately long section (almost one-half of the articles) detailing the punishments for every infraction of the rules. To enable the urban population to play its constructive role, Catherine attempted to lay the foundations of a gild system.⁵⁴ In so doing she followed German models, in particular by assigning urban police functions to the gilds, as did the administrative statute of Berlin of Frederick II. The towns and cities were to be subdivided into districts and *quartiers*, with a hierarchy of police functionaries for each and auxiliaries to be drawn from the local population. But here we encounter an essential difference: while for the setup in Berlin Frederick II relied on existing gild functionaries and the traditional system of corporate participation in the police, there were no such bodies in Russia.⁵⁵ The Russian police officials had to be drafted from the population in a way strongly reminiscent of the *sluzhba* (compulsory state service) practices of Muscovite and Petrine times that offered no counterpart advantages to those impressed and straightjacketed them in the rigid network of state service.⁵⁶ It also made the police very costly, while subjecting it to excessive bureaucratization and centralized state control.⁵⁷

The reason for this approach is not far to seek, and it brings us to a second vital aspect of Catherine's legislation. It is precisely the corporate bodies and autonomous social institutions—Montesquieu's famous *corps intermédiaires*—that provided the essential framework for cameralism and police in Central and Western Europe and that were most conspicuously absent in Russia. Russian rulers, Peter I as well as Catherine II, were well aware of this absence. Peter I's heavy-handed efforts at forcing merchants to con-

⁵³ Catherine also planned a police statute for the countryside (i.e., the state peasants). It was not implemented in full, though it affected some local legislation in the Ukraine. See "Proekt imperatritsy Ekateriny II ob ustroistve svobodnykh sel'skikh obyvatelei" (The Project of Empress Catherine II concerning the Administration of Free Rural Inhabitants), ed. V. I. Veshniakov, in *Sbornik imperatorskogo russkogo istoricheskogo obshchestva* (Collection of the Imperial Russian Historical Society), 20 (St. Petersburg, 1877): 447–98.

⁵⁴ "Zhalovannaia gramota gorodam" (Charter Granted to the Towns), Apr. 21, 1785, in *PSZ*, vol. 22, no. 16,188.

⁵⁵ "O sochinenii reglamenta politsii" (On Drafting the Regulation for Police), Oct. 23, 1763, TsGADA, fond 248, bk. 3,411, no. 45, fol. 936–42. See also I. T. Tarasov, "Istoriia russkoi politsii i otnosheniia eia k iustitsii" (The History of the Russian Police and Its Relationship to Justice), *Iuridicheskii Vestnik* (Judicial Courier), 16 (1884): nos. 2–4, pp. 177–212, 383–411, 551–74.

⁵⁶ "Ustav blagochiniia," section B.

⁵⁷ For instance, implementing the Uprava Blagochiniia, the police administration, in Tula-Kaluga cost 27,728 rubles, 80½ kopecks, a very large sum for the time and for administrative expenses. "Report of Governor-General Mikhail Krechetnikov on the Kaluga, Tula, and Ryazan' Provinces, 1774–91: Report on the Establishment of Police Administrations in Tula and Kaluga," n.d., TsGADA, *razriad* 16, no. 729, pt. 2, fols. 10–11.

stitute corporations to perform the many services that the state demanded from them—for example, the Glavnyi Magistrat—resulted in failure. The most energetic and progressive urban elements withdrew and avoided the new institutions, while the administrative bodies of the cities were transformed into the reluctant agents of the bureaucracy, losing their spirit of enterprise and social autonomy.⁵⁸ Catherine II had, therefore, to return to the task; to implement her “Ustav blagochiniia,” as well as to create the socioinstitutional matrix for the modernization of Russia’s economic and cultural life that she aimed for, she had to develop estates. This was the main thrust of her two charters of 1785, to the nobility and to the towns, as well as of the third charter, planned and drafted but never implemented, for the state peasants.⁵⁹ All of these legislative acts aimed at stimulating local administrative participation and responsibility by providing security and a corporate structure for the urban and noble sectors of society.⁶⁰

In the short run, from the point of view I am considering, Catherine’s legislation did have some success. It helped to promote the estate organization and participation on the local level and made possible the extension of *Polizeiordnung* to all urban centers as well as to some significant aspects of country life. But the ambiguity of the enterprise soon became apparent: the effort to create by the sovereign’s fiat and legislation an estate structure capable of autonomous life foundered on the state’s maintenance of direction and control.⁶¹ This in turn meant handicapping the development of individual initiative and autonomous action on the part of estate institutions. And if this was indeed the case, the entire conception of both cameralism and enlightened absolutism—that is, the state’s fostering of progress and modernization—was put in question. The equivocal results of this conception were fully experienced by Joseph II in his realm, for his imposition of a uniform and rational pattern provoked the resistance of those very constituted bodies whose creative energies he would have wanted to foster. In any event, and paradoxically perhaps, the interventionist and active policy of the cameralist *Polizeistaut* and enlightened absolutism, whether it relied on existing estate structures or tried to develop them, resulted in a greater

⁵⁸ Aleksandr A. Kizevetter, *Posadskaia obshchina v Rossii XVIII stoletiiia* (The Urban Commune in Eighteenth Century Russia) (Moscow, 1903).

⁵⁹ “Zhalovannaia gramota dvorianstvu” (Charter Granted to the Nobility), Apr. 21, 1785, in *PSZ*, vol. 22, no. 16,187; “Zhalovannaia gramota gorodam”; “Proekt imperatritsy Ekateriny II ob ustroistve svobodnykh sel’skikh obyvatel’ei.” A detailed analysis of the composition and sources of the charter to towns was made by Aleksandr A. Kizevetter, *Gorodovoe polozhenie Ekateriny II 1785 g. Opyt istoricheskogo kommentariia* (The Urban Statute of Catherine II in 1785: An Essay in Historical Commentary) (Moscow, 1909). For an original interpretation of Catherine’s social legislation, see Dietrich Geyer, “Gesellschaft als staatliche Veranstaltung,” *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, 14 (1966): 21–50. I follow and illustrate further Professor Geyer’s argument in “The Empress and the Vinerian Professor.”

⁶⁰ Robert E. Jones, *The Emancipation of the Russian Nobility, 1762–1785* (Princeton, 1973).

⁶¹ For the nobility the story has been told by Sergei A. Korf, *Dvorianstvo i ego soslovnoe upravlenie za stoletie 1762–1885 gg.* (The Nobility and Its Corporate Administration for the Century 1762–1855) (St. Petersburg, 1906).

awareness on the part of the members of society of the desirability of maximizing their own creative energies. This led to the transformation of traditional status solidarities into an emerging class-consciousness determined by individual self-interest and active economic and cultural involvement. In turn, it stimulated questioning of the legitimacy of absolutism and cameralism, while at the same time pushing society and its active members onto the road of modernity and individualism.⁶²

AS THE PRECEDING REMARKS have made clear, it is difficult to break up the web of administrative history into discrete, sharply defined periods: the web is seamless, and a specific pattern arises out of the immanent dynamics of ends and means set long before. Some key ideas that we associate with modernity and ascribe to the Enlightenment came into existence and reached practical significance long before the impact of the writings of the philosophes. Such, for example, is the notion of felicity. The eudaemonism of seventeenth-century cameralism and police contained *in nuce* this notion of general welfare and happiness, only at that time both welfare and happiness were considered to be the means for the attainment of the primary aim of any polity: the maximizing of potential energies to further the power, independence, and influence of the state. What may be called the "enlightenment amendment" to this conception was the transformation of felicity from a mere instrument of a transcendental political goal into an end to be achieved for its own sake. Furthermore—especially in France, less so in Germany whose *Aufklärung* retained much of the earlier communal outlook—the stress was put on the felicity of the individual, leading up to the Utilitarian slogan of the greatest happiness for the greatest number. This individualistic emphasis fostered a "possessive individualism" that gave priority to the pursuit of private material interest over the general welfare of the community. Politically it legitimized resistance to the claims of the state (or ruler) and fostered the resort to a new rhetoric. This rhetoric, in turn, generated attitudes that eventually endowed modernization with its contemporary dynamic force and transmuted it into a transcendent absolute that became a normative standard, similar to the abstract notions of justice embodied in modern codes of law.

In one respect, at least, the enlightened despots crowned the work begun by their cameralist predecessors. The quantity of ordinances had grown to such an extent that they threatened to stifle the proper operation of the very institutions they regulated. With the readjustments of borders and the expansion of economic units there was great need for regular and uniform procedures to facilitate a freer flow of goods and to provide security

⁶² The implicit model was England. But what seems to have been there an autonomous social development was the result of state policy on the Continent.

of persons and property.⁶³ Last, but not least, the individual's potential to maximize cultural and material resources—via inventions, art, and trade—had to be secured and firmly anchored.⁶⁴ This security should not depend on personal authority but on the interplay of social and economic relationships and the freely assumed responsibilities of members of society (or their organized bodies). Such a goal implied an effort at realizing the intellectual presuppositions on which the policies we have been concerned with were based: rational regularity and uniformity predicated on the uniformity of human nature, alongside a recognition of the variety of natural factors, such as climate, and the didactic lead of political power. This effort took the form of the codification of law, so as to provide a harmonious, regular, uniform, and stable legal framework within which the dynamic forces of modernity, which had been prodded into being by the *Polizeistaat*, might find their full scope and expression. The second half of the eighteenth century was the period of codification attempts par excellence on the European Continent—attempts that best exemplify the aspirations of both cameralist and enlightened absolutism.⁶⁵ Codification also aimed at routinizing the social conceptions of natural law doctrine that constituted the core of seventeenth-century absolutist cameralism and police: the priority of the obligations of members of society to the community (or the state). It meant emphasizing the individual's duties at the expense of his rights.⁶⁶ Further, one may see in the process of codification an example of the leadership role of the state, that is, of the political power.

We need not go into the history of the process of codification in various

⁶³ There were also the difficulties and confusions arising out of the coexistence of several systems of law, for example, Roman, German customary, and feudal laws. The situation was not dissimilar in France where there were two major types of law—*droit de coutume* and *droit écrit*—besides local variations. See the fascinating and subtle comparative analysis by John P. Dawson, *The Oracles of the Law* (Ann Arbor, 1968). The varieties of enforceable laws may be at the root of the requirement to exhaust normal juridical procedures in one system before appealing to the ruler and also of the distrust of "judge-made" law and decisions based on the moral judgment of the magistrate. For the latter, see, for example, Johann Friedrich Schram, *Richterlicher Gewissenspiegel . . .* (Erfurt, 1729), preface.

⁶⁴ On security of benefits of inventions and patents, see the interesting remarks in North and Thomas, *Rise of the Western World*.

⁶⁵ And let us not forget the early efforts of Colbert in France. See Joseph van Kan, *Les efforts de codification en France* (Paris, 1929); André-Jean Arnaud, *Les origines doctrinales du Code civil français* (Paris, 1969); and the special issue, "Le droit au XVII^e siècle," of the journal *XVII^e siècle*, 1963, nos. 58–59. To avoid misunderstanding, it should be observed that codification since the later seventeenth century was not merely the collecting of ancient, existing laws, as in the *coutumiers*, but also a systematic working over in order to bring about a new system of legal norms. The process was clearly illustrated in France, too, in the efforts of Chancellor d'Aguessau in the middle of the eighteenth century. Henri Regnault, *Les ordonnances civiles du chancelier Daguesseau* (Paris, 1929–38); see also Dawson, *Oracles of the Law*.

⁶⁶ Herein lies the root of the difference between the impact of natural law in Germany and its development in England and in France. Suggestive illustration is to be found in the recently published lectures of main authors of the Prussian and Austrian codification efforts in Hermann Conrad and Gerd Kleinheyder, eds., *Vorträge über Recht und Staat von Carl Gottlieb Svarez, 1746–1798* (Cologne, 1960), and in Hermann Conrad, ed., *Recht und Verfassung des Reiches in der Zeit Maria Theresias (Die Vorträge zum Unterricht des Erzherzogs Joseph)* (Cologne, 1964).

countries, a history that reveals still many gaps in our knowledge, particularly with respect to the antecedents of eighteenth-century codes and their debt to earlier practices and conceptions.⁶⁷ In any event, it is an incontrovertible fact that the successful codifications in Bavaria, Prussia, and Austria, and eventually the French Code Civil, played major roles in the process of modernization at the beginning of its most dynamic period. Franz Wieacker has rightly said that codification is a unique achievement of Western Europe, in fact of Continental Europe.⁶⁸ The factors of this achievement that Wieacker adduces should be extended to include the precursor role and basic contribution of the cameralist *Polizeistaat*, which made this kind of codification not only the passive response to necessity but a creative act, and as such a fundamental contribution to the eventual triumph of the spirit of modernity in the postrevolutionary era.

While professors of natural law jurisprudence at German universities proclaimed the individual's responsibility and obligations to the group, the practices of their rulers led to the disruption of group solidarities and the emergence of the selfish, interest-oriented person. The pursuit of exclusive personal advantage strengthened individualism, of course, but it also produced a greater alienation from the group. Individual creative enterprise becoming an end in itself, it had no limit except that of a confrontation with the other—hence alienation, in the sense of experiencing the other as adversary. This imposed a new function on the state and, in view of the disintegration of the estates, fostered the direct involvement of the government in keeping the conflicting selfish claims of individuals in their proper and socially tolerable bounds.⁶⁹ This need of the government to intervene to protect the communal solidarities threatened by the very forces it had

⁶⁷ In addition to Villey, *La formation de la pensée juridique moderne*; Arnaud, *Les origines doctrinales du Code civil français*; von Kan, *Les efforts de codification en France*; and Dawson, *Oracles of the Law*, see Franz Wieacker, *Privatrechtsgeschichte der Neuzeit* (2d ed.; Göttingen, 1967). The literature on the codification in Prussia alone is boundless; for some interesting new interpretations, see Reinhart Kosellek, *Preussen zwischen Reform und Revolution* (Stuttgart, 1967); Hans-Uwe Heuer, *Allgemeines Landrecht und Klassenkampf* (Berlin, 1960); Günter Birtsch, "Zum konstitutionellen Charakter des preussischen Allgemeinen Landrechts von 1794," in Kurt Kluxen and W. J. Mommsen, eds., *Politische Ideologien und nationalstaatliche Ordnung: Festschrift für Theodor Schieder* (Munich, 1968), 97–115; Birtsch, "Gesetzgebung und Repräsentation im späten Absolutismus," *Historische Zeitschrift*, 208 (1969): 265–94; Hermann Conrad, *Die geistigen Grundlagen des Allgemeinen Landrechts für die preussischen Staaten von 1794* (Cologne, 1958); and Conrad, *Rechtsstaatliche Bestrebungen im Absolutismus Preussens und Österreichs am Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Cologne, 1961). As usual, the study by Wilhelm Dilthey repays reading. "Das allgemeine Landrecht," *Gesammelte Schriften*, 12 (Stuttgart, 1960): 131–207.

⁶⁸ Codification is "die Unterwerfung des Richters und der Rechtsgenossen unter die Herrschaft eines lückenlosen Normensystems, das in widerspruchsfreier Folge vom einzelnen Rechtssatz, vom einzelnen Rechtsinstitut zu den obersten Begriffen und Grundsätzen aufsteigt. In diesem Sinne ist Kodifikation eine einzigartige, schwer errungene und schwer zu verteidigende Schöpfung der Rechtsgesittung auf dem west- und mitteleuropäischen Festland, und zunächst nur auf ihm: eine der charakteristischsten Bildungen des europäischen Geistes, an dem seine gesellschaftliche und ideengeschichtliche Eigenart mit besonderer Schärfe erscheint." Franz Wieacker, "Aufstieg, Blüte und Krisis der Kodifikationsidee," in *Festschrift für Gustav Boehmer* (Bonn, 1954), 34.

⁶⁹ Mack Walker, *German Home Towns* (Ithaca, 1971).

promoted resulted in a directive and positively engaged state. Such a state could not be merely the “night watchman” of English nineteenth-century liberalism or remain the high justicer of medieval tradition: it was on the way to becoming the directive and interventionist welfare state of the late nineteenth century. And was it to be wondered if the state itself, no longer the ruler of society, became an end unto itself instead of being merely the means for the organization of security and welfare? Not only did the ruler become its first servant, but every citizen was put to serve the state’s requirements of ongoing modernization. It was the last step in the conversion of the single individual from a creative force into an instrument of modernity for the benefit of the state.

What has been called “state socialism,” and Frederick II its initiator, in fact had its roots in the cameralist and police administrations of seventeenth-century absolutism. As Georges Gurvitch has pointed out in an important, though sadly neglected, book, the seventeenth-century German emphasis on the communal component of natural law theories provided the basis for a doctrine of social rights that led the German states—as well as Bonapartist France and Russia—to take the initiative in introducing modern social legislation.⁷⁰ It surely contributed to make these Continental European countries receptive to state *dirigisme* in all walks of life. And if that is indeed the case, should not England’s ideology of possessive individualism, and its nineteenth-century political triumph in Manchesterianism, be considered as an exception to the Western pattern of modernization?⁷¹ Be this as it may, the Continental pattern of development may account for the particular strains accompanying modernization, since it assigns an ambiguous role to the political and intellectual leadership, a role inherited from cameralist absolutism but no longer to be contained in the contemporary industrial structure.

The general conclusion to be drawn from this account may not be anything more than to show once again that the web of human history is woven from the antinomies and paradoxes that stem from the discrepancy between ends and means: means devised to solve specific problems by one age become ends in themselves and thereby create problems whose very solution is limited by the terms set by the original intellectual framework. But in more specific terms, if the analysis has any validity, we must conclude that the practices and intellectual presuppositions of seventeenth-century absolutism, as manifested in cameralist and police legislation, proved more significant and came earlier than the ideas of the philosophes in giving dynamic

⁷⁰ Georges Gurvitch, *L'idée du droit social* (Paris, 1932).

⁷¹ C. B. Macpherson, *The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism: Hobbes to Locke* (Oxford, 1962); Hans Medick, *Naturzustand und Naturgeschichte der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft: Die Ursprünge der bürgerlichen Sozialtheorie als Geschichtsphilosophie und Sozialwissenschaft bei Samuel Pufendorf, John Locke und Adam Smith* (Göttingen, 1973). This contrast would have to be extended to include the United States and the Commonwealth countries (or their antecedents) in the nineteenth century.

impulse to the process of modernization. In endowing these earlier impulses with its own rhetoric, the Enlightenment appears only as a response to, not a precondition of, Europe's embarking on modernity.⁷² True, the rhetoric itself became a powerful force in its own right—but that is another, and later, story.

⁷² The domination exercised by French literature and the psychological impact of the French Revolution (as well as of the "French interpretation" of the American Revolution) have tended to obscure the formative role played by earlier ethical and philosophical concepts going back to the sixteenth century. It also served to push into the background the impact of traditional political ideas and institutions, as well as the model provided by small republican states that were still significant in the eighteenth century. Besides the very rich material afforded by Arnaud, *Les origines doctrinales du Code civil français*, see in particular Franco Venturi, *Utopia and Reform in the Enlightenment* (Cambridge, 1971), and Venturi, *Settecento-riformatore: Da Muratori a Beccaria* (Turin, 1969). A suggestive interpretation of the American scene in terms of traditional political ideas and attitudes is Bernard Bailyn, *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass., 1971).

Church, State, and Nation in Modern Ireland

EMMET LARKIN

IN TWO PREVIOUS ARTICLES in this journal I examined the economic and social power and influence of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland in the nineteenth century.¹ The economic power and influence of the Church in Ireland proved to be formidable. Indeed, the Church had become stronger and stronger during the nineteenth century by building an imposing establishment in terms of both plant and personnel. All this was done, moreover, in a country that had not experienced an industrial revolution, had exported some five million people, and still remained in 1914 one of the more economically backward areas in Western Europe. On the social side the achievement of the Church in Ireland was perhaps even more impressive. In the course of the century the Church had managed to build itself into the very vitals of the nation by becoming almost at one with its identity. By 1914 Irish and Catholic had not only become interchangeable terms, but Catholic had come to be the inclusive term. The instrument for this great social change was a devotional revolution that made practicing Catholics of the Irish people in a generation and that eventually made Irish Catholicism a worldwide phenomenon in the English-speaking world.

In this article I will attempt to complete the historical trilogy by examining the nature and extent of the political power and influence of the Church in modern Ireland. The main difficulty in such an effort, however, is that for the history of modern Ireland there is as yet no satisfactory political frame within which the role of the Church can be examined. That such a frame has not yet been structured may seem at first surprising, especially since the political materials, unlike the economic and social, have apparently been both abundant and available for some time. On reflection, however, it becomes obvious that the reason why this has not been done is that without considering the Church, which in Ireland is integral to any such frame, it was impossible. In a word, the Church does not exist independently of the Irish political system, but it is one of the basic elements in that system. But what then are the other elements, besides the Church, that are necessary

¹ Emmet Larkin, "Economic Growth, Capital Investment, and the Roman Catholic Church in Nineteenth-Century Ireland," *AHR*, 72 (1966-67): 852-84; Larkin, "The Devotional Revolution in Ireland, 1850-75," *AHR*, 77 (1972): 625-52.

to the building of a satisfactory political frame, which will allow for a meaningful discussion of the nature and extent of the political power and influence of the Church in Ireland?

THE OTHER ELEMENTS are essentially two—the nation and the state. In sustaining and shaping the identity of the first, and in helping to make and consolidate the power of the second, the Church has played a most vital part. Before proceeding, however, to the dynamic nature of the relationship between Church, state, and nation, some effort must be made to define the participants. Since the nation is at once the most allusive and inclusive term of the three, perhaps it would be best to begin with it. In order to escape the dilemma of defining the nation so broadly as to make the term virtually meaningless, I propose to define it here as that class of Irish Roman Catholic tenant farmers who since 1750 have occupied more than thirty acres. They are, in effect, the critical nation-forming class. The most remarkable thing about this class is not so much its size, but the apparent consistency with which it has maintained its numbers over the last two hundred years.² There are, of course, no reliable figures before 1845, but a glance at table 1 will make the position tolerably clear for at least the period since then. These figures must, of course, be qualified in that all those holding more than thirty acres were not Roman Catholics and the number of holdings was always greater than the number of occupiers of those holdings. Still, when all the estimates and deductions are made, this critical class has numbered something more than one hundred thousand, and if taken with its dependents, it has probably numbered about five hundred thousand over the last two hundred years.³

But what about the validity of projecting these figures backward in time from 1845 to 1750, especially when it is admitted that there are no reliable statistics before 1845? It is most fortunate that there are figures

² Raymond D. Crotty, *Irish Agricultural Production: Its Volume and Structure* (Cork, 1966). See in particular chapter 1 for a most thoughtful and illuminating account of Irish economic conditions, and especially the emergence of the tenant farmer class, in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

³ This is a conservative estimate. It is calculated on the basis that there were in Ireland in 1861 some 158,000 holdings of more than thirty acres. This figure is then reduced by five per cent in order to distinguish occupiers from holders, and the result is 150,000 occupiers. This latter figure is further reduced by estimating that thirty per cent of the occupiers were Protestants, which then results in a figure of 105,000 Roman Catholic occupiers of more than thirty acres. If the number of occupiers are then counted as heads of families, and the number in a family is calculated at five, the figure arrived at is roughly 500,000. While the figure of five per cent in reducing holders to occupiers appears reasonable in light of the available evidence, the figure of thirty per cent for Protestant occupiers may be too high, since Protestants made up about twenty per cent of the population. Still, given the long-term privileged position and greater wealth of the Protestant community, it is more prudent to overestimate than to underestimate their numbers as occupiers. In any case, 500,000 appears a reasonable working figure because it is certainly a lower limit, and more especially so in the years after the famine. The numerical strength of this class was, of course, enhanced by its cousinhood in the cities and towns. Given, however, the current state of quantitative research in Irish social history, any estimate of its numbers must be, at best, an educated guess. If the some 80,000 first- and second-class houses enumerated in the 1861 census containing one family in civic areas, as

available for 1845 and 1847 because without them there would be no way of knowing what actual impact the Great Famine had on the Irish system of landholding. What is now obvious is that the famine did not much alter the position of those who held more than thirty acres, while it decimated those who held less, and especially those who held less than fifteen acres. But if the famine had little effect on the plus-thirty-acre tenant class as a class, were there not perhaps longer-term socioeconomic phenomena between 1750 and 1850 that had either a qualitative or quantitative impact? Did not population growth or price movements in response to market conditions, for example, have an effect? In terms of reducing the numbers of this critical class the answer would appear to be no.

The consensus among Irish economic historians is that the real economic watershed in modern Ireland was 1815 rather than 1847.⁴ The fall in prices and the general depression between 1815 and 1820 precipitated a long-term trend away from tillage in favor of pasture. In the long run (that is, between 1815 and 1960) this trend certainly strengthened and even increased the number of farmers holding more than thirty acres, but the increase was probably marginal before the famine because of the continued increase in population and the consequent land hunger. But what effect did the substantial increase in prices, especially in corn, have on their numbers between 1780 and 1815? The shift from pasture to tillage in the face of favorable corn prices certainly drove rents up, but this did not mean that the larger farmers were under inordinate pressure, unless they could not find labor in sufficient quantity to enable them to convert to tillage. Since the increase in population provided a more than adequate supply of labor, there is good reason to suppose that the larger farmers prospered, especially if they held long-term leases that protected them against the substantial increase in rents.⁵

This is not to say, however, that the more than thirty acre tenant farmer

distinguished from rural areas, are multiplied by five, the number of this urban cousinhood is about 400,000. If only half of them were Roman Catholics, some 200,000 then may be added to the 500,000 for a grand total of 700,000 for this class in 1861. That this is a minimal estimate and that the total was undoubtedly greater are obvious, but given the current state of knowledge, as has been pointed out, it is more sensible at this stage to understate the case. See *Census of Ireland, 1861* (Dublin, 1864), pt. 5, pp. xv-xix, for the definition of what constituted a family and first- and second-class houses and page 462 for the numbers of first- and second-class houses containing one family. Finally, a word must be said about the geographical distribution of this more than thirty acre tenant farmer class. The assumption that has been made here, of course, is that the overall distribution of the Protestants and Catholics who made up this class was even. Since this is patently not so and since the Protestant farmers holding more than thirty acres were undoubtedly concentrated in the six counties that today make up Northern Ireland, the political significance of the same class of Catholics in the south is considerably enhanced, especially so as the electorate was expanded in the course of the nineteenth century. The implications for the progressive polarization of the two communities, north and south, are obvious.

⁴ F. S. L. Lyons, *Ireland since the Famine* (New York, 1971), 22. See also Crotty, *Irish Agricultural Production*, 64, and L. M. Cullen, *An Economic History of Ireland since 1660* (New York, 1972), 100-04.

⁵ W. A. Maguire, *The Downshire Estates in Ireland, 1801-1845* (Oxford, 1972), 119.

TABLE 1. BREAKDOWN OF THE NUMBERS OF LANDHOLDERS
OF MORE THAN ONE ACRE IN IRELAND, 1847-1960^a

	1847	1861	1881	1901	1917	1941	1960
More than 1 and less than 5 acres	139,041	85,469	67,071	62,655	47,619	40,757	29,222
More than 5 and less than 15 acres	269,534	183,931	164,645	154,418	125,828	88,265	63,746
More than 15 and less than 30 acres	164,337	141,251	135,793	134,091	123,129	106,203	92,415
More than 30 acres	157,097	157,833	159,834	164,569	163,221	179,748	175,845
Total	730,009	568,484	527,343	515,733	459,797	414,973	361,228

^a Sources for table 1: 1847, *Agricultural Returns for Ireland, 1847*, House of Commons (hereafter HC) (1847), 57: 111; 1861, *Agricultural Statistics for Ireland, 1861*, HC (1863), 69: 556; 1881, *Agricultural Statistics for Ireland, 1881*, HC (1882), 74: 93; 1901, *Agricultural Statistics for Ireland, 1901*, HC (1902), 116: pt. 1, p. 358; 1917, *Agricultural Statistics for Ireland, 1917*, HC (1921), 41: 14; 1941, 26 counties: Ireland (Eire), Department of Industry and Commerce, *Statistical Abstract, 1942* (Dublin, 1942), 57; 6 counties: Great Britain, Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, Department of Agriculture for Scotland, Ministry of Agriculture, Northern Ireland, *Agricultural Statistics, 1945: United Kingdom* (London, 1948), pt. i, p. 29; 1960, 26 counties: Ireland (Eire), Central Statistics Office, *Statistical Abstract of Ireland, 1964* (Dublin, 1964), 94; 6 counties: Ministry of Agriculture, *Agricultural Statistics*, quoted in Ireland (Eire), Central Statistics Office, *Statistical Abstract of Ireland, 1964* (Dublin, 1964), app., p. 359. The very complex question of how homogeneous this tenant farmer class with more than 30 acres really was has not been taken up here because the primitive state of the evidence requires more research and thought and the scope of the question would demand yet another article. Even a cursory breakdown, however, of the 157,833 holdings of more than 30 acres in 1861, which may be taken in general as a representative year for the whole period since 1847, certainly reveals that there was an economic and social spectrum, though the meaning of that spectrum is not entirely clear. There were 72,449 tenant farmers with more than 30 and less than 50 acres; 53,933 with more than 50 and less than 100; 21,531 with more than 100 and less than 200; 8,329 with more than 200 and less than 500; and 1,591 with more than 500 acres. Whatever these figures may be forced to yield on analysis as to how homogeneous this class actually was, it is clear that equating the 500-acre farmer with the man who held between 30 and 50 acres is to take too simple a view. Still, when these figures are considered in the light of an expanding electorate in the counties between 1832 and 1885, on the basis of reducing property qualifications, it becomes obvious that the political center of gravity was located in this class, though in each succeeding political generation that center of gravity was located lower in the socioeconomic pyramid formed by this class. For example, the county electorate, which before the Reform Bill of 1832 numbered only about 20,000, was enlarged in that year to some 60,000, while in 1850 it was enlarged again to about 135,000. In 1868 this county electorate was expanded again to some 177,000 until it was finally democratized in 1884, when some 630,000 were enfranchised. Before 1850, therefore, Daniel O'Connell found his political center of gravity located largely in the 100-acre farmer, while Charles Stewart Parnell in the next political generation found his center of gravity in the 50-acre man; in our own day Eamon de Valera has found his in the 30-acre man. What makes this correlation even more significant, of course, is that the total Catholic population has shrunk from about 6,500,000 in O'Connell's day to something more than 3,000,000 in de Valera's day, and the more than 30-acre farmers, whose numbers have been more than maintained in the same period, have made up an increasingly larger proportion of the political whole.

class did not have an anxious time of it, especially after 1815. The fall in prices made it imperative for them to convert to pasture, and the continuing high rents made it difficult for them to find the capital to stock their farms. Still, given the increase in livestock figures between 1815 and 1850, it appears that these farmers responded well to the economic challenge.⁶ Their ultimate anxiety, however, could only have been rooted in the incredible social conditions that developed after 1815. An ever-increasing and expanding culture of poverty, in the making since 1780, but masked by the prosperity before 1815, was then given another dimension by the fear of the smaller and more marginal farmer and especially his sons, who did not want to sink into a landless class and who desperately gave a lead to the resistance, which took the form of agrarian outrages and secret societies, against the tithes, high rents, and the conversion to pasture.⁷ These fearful social conditions were given painful emphasis, moreover, by the periodic famines and harvest failures between 1815 and 1850. The quality, therefore, that distinguished the Irish Roman Catholic tenant farmers holding more than thirty acres both before the famine and since has been their endurance. In the face of all adversity, however, they have not only remained economically viable and maintained their numbers, but they have also emerged as the dominant political class in modern Ireland.

THIS NATION-FORMING CLASS, in fact, is the class for whom and by whom the Irish state, that second element necessary to the structuring of a satisfactory political frame for modern Irish history, was eventually created and consolidated. As a class they were first mobilized for political action in the 1820s by Daniel O'Connell in his Catholic Association.⁸ What O'Connell understood, however, was that although this class was necessary, it was not, in the political context of his day, sufficient to the achievement of Emancipation. He therefore included the Roman Catholic clergy and involved the masses. By incorporating the clergy he secured the only institutional apparatus that permeated, however imperfectly, to the grass roots, and from the masses he acquired all the strength and menace implicit in their aggregate numbers. He won Emancipation in 1829, therefore, because he was

⁶ John O'Donovan, *The Economic History of Livestock in Ireland* (Dublin, 1940), 212-13. See also Crotty, *Irish Agricultural Production*, 57-58. There are no reliable figures for livestock population in Ireland before the famine, but the export of live animals to England gives some idea of the apparent increase in numbers. In 1800, for example, Ireland exported 17,984 live cattle, 1,671 live sheep, and 4,169 live pigs, while in 1848 the respective numbers were 190,828, 279,706, and 232,674. See Crotty, *Irish Agricultural Production*, table 65 B, p. 277.

⁷ Joseph Lee, "The Ribbonmen," in T. Desmond Williams, ed., *Secret Societies in Ireland* (Dublin, 1973), 34. Professor Lee emphasizes the role of the laborers and cottiers vis-à-vis the tenant farmers and the landlords, but most of the evidence he adduces would serve as well for the marginal farmers and their sons who were well on their way to becoming either laborers, cottiers, or emigrants.

⁸ James A. Reynolds, *The Catholic Emancipation Crisis in Ireland, 1823-1829* (New Haven, 1954).

able to assemble in his Catholic Association a unified national political phalanx whose purpose was sanctioned by a very considerable and influential body of British public opinion in and out of Parliament. When O'Connell, however, attempted to apply the same formula in launching the agitation for the repeal of the Act of Union on the heels of winning Emancipation, he was unsuccessful. He was never able, in fact, to mobilize his national political phalanx again, and when he appeared to have done so in 1843, the leviathan proved to have only feet of clay.⁹

Why O'Connell was never able, beyond appearances, to create a repeal movement equal to the one for Emancipation is one of the critical questions in modern Irish history because the answer to it not only explains his failure, but the eventual success of those who later assumed his mantle as leader. Two reasons are central in explaining O'Connell's failure: first, he never received from the clergy, and especially the bishops, that complete commitment on repeal which he had secured for Emancipation; second, he never won the support of any considerable or influential body of British public opinion for repeal as had existed for Emancipation. From the moment O'Connell launched his repeal agitation in late 1829 and throughout the decade of the 1830s, the bishops as a body were extremely cautious about any further political involvement.¹⁰ Early in 1834, when O'Connell had been agitating repeal for over four years, the bishops formally capped their caution at their annual meeting by forbidding the use of Catholic chapels for political purposes and exhorting their priests to abstain from those political activities that were not in keeping with their calling.¹¹ O'Connell's inability either to persuade or to coerce the bishops as a body into supporting repeal was undoubtedly a major consideration in his decision early in 1835 to drop repeal and "test the Union" by giving the new Whig government under Lord Melbourne an opportunity to redress Irish grievances.

When O'Connell once again renewed agitation for repeal early in 1840, he secured the support and public approbation of the influential archbishop of Tuam, John MacHale. In time he also received, in a hierarchy of twenty-seven, the adherence of some fifteen other bishops.¹² Despite the apparent

⁹ L. S. McCaffrey, *Daniel O'Connell and the Repeal Year* (Lexington, 1966), 211–13.

¹⁰ John B. Broderick, *The Holy See and the Irish Movement for the Repeal of the Union with England, 1829–1847* (Rome, 1951), 45–50. See also, for example, William Kinsella, bishop of Ossory, who wrote to the rector of the Irish College in Rome, Christopher Boylan, from Kilkenny on January 3, 1831: "Mr. O'Connell is agitating the question of repealing the union—the people of property & respectability are all opposed to him, and the Government are determined to put him down as they say his object is rebelling against the authority of the King of England. All the Irish Bishops unanimously resolved, and published their resolution of not permitting the Priests to preach from the altar on political affairs. This I announced six months ago in public conference: and yesterday a Capuchin Friar in this City preached at Mass on the repeal of the Union, and stigmatised every man who would not join in this mad attempt." Paul Cullen Papers, Archives of the Irish College, Rome.

¹¹ Broderick, *Holy See and the Irish Movement*, 59.

¹² *Ibid.*, 113, and see also Oliver MacDonagh, "The Politicization of the Irish Catholic Bishops, 1800–1850," *Historical Journal*, 18 (1975): 37–53. MacDonagh notes that nineteen of twenty-nine bishops were "at one stage or other open repealers" (p. 47 n.28). The figure of

increase in both unity and power that the adhesion of a majority of the bishops brought to the repeal movement, the alliance proved costly to O'Connell because Archbishop MacHale was as much interested, and perhaps more successful, in using O'Connell for his religious purposes than O'Connell was in using the archbishop for his political purposes. Not only did the religious exclusiveness of MacHale eventually alienate the liberal Protestant and Young Ireland components of the Repeal Association, but the large and influential minority among the bishops, disliking and perhaps even fearing the archbishop of Tuam's attempt to impose his religious and political views on them, never acquiesced in the alliance and never became members of the Repeal Association. When Rome in late 1844 finally condemned the overaggressive political activities of the majority among the Irish bishops and priests and Sir Robert Peel, meanwhile, introduced a series of measures designed to satisfy the needs of the more politically conservative among the Irish bishops, the divisions in the hierarchy were not only deepened, but the already imperfect clerical component of the Repeal Association was further impaired.¹³

While O'Connell was thus having great difficulty mobilizing and sustaining his national political phalanx between 1829 and 1844, he had even less success in converting any considerable or influential body of public opinion in Britain to the cause of repeal.¹⁴ His response to the challenge of converting British public opinion was the creation of an Irish party in the House of Commons. Though numbering between thirty and forty in the decade of the 1830s and a mainstay of the Whig government after 1835, the party's impact was slight in educating British public opinion to the virtues of repeal before it was decimated in the general election of 1841. The reason why a large part of British public opinion reacted differently to Emancipation than it did to repeal was that the former was about liberty and freedom while the latter was essentially a question of sovereignty. This is why both Whigs and Radicals could consistently structure political alli-

twenty-nine, however, is somewhat inflated because, in effect, he counts the bishops of Derry and Galway twice. John MacLaughlin, the bishop of Derry, went insane in 1845, and Edward Maginn was appointed his coadjutor. While it is true that both were Repealers, they really should not be counted individually in that MacLaughlin never recovered from his illness. George J. P. Browne, the bishop of Galway, was translated to the diocese of Elphin in early 1844 to succeed Patrick Burke who died in late 1843. Browne was himself succeeded in Galway by Laurence O'Donnell. Though Burke, Browne, and O'Donnell were all Repealers, only two of them were bishops at any one time, and they should, therefore, be counted as two instead of three. MacDonagh also lists Kinsella, the bishop of Ossory, as an "open repealer." Kinsella, however, does not appear to have ever joined the Repeal Association and publicly eschewed politics, though he indeed admitted that personally he favored repeal and permitted his priests to be members of the association. I, therefore, take the number of Irish bishops at any one time in this period to be twenty-seven and the number who formally joined the Repeal Association to be sixteen. The real issue among the bishops as I understand it was not perhaps repeal or no repeal, but rather to what extent the bishops thought the clergy should be involved in politics.

¹³ McCaffrey, *Daniel O'Connell*, 212-39.

¹⁴ Angus Macintyre, *The Liberator: Daniel O'Connell and the Irish Party, 1830-1847* (London, 1965), 126-29.

ances with O'Connell whenever he eschewed repeal and advocated reform. The potential danger, however, in all such extraparlimentary associations ran deep with those British politicians and statesmen who still thought partially in terms of the eighteenth-century constitution and who remembered the American and Irish debacles of another generation.¹⁵ Whether they were called associations, societies, congresses, or conventions, there was a tendency in them to usurp the legitimate authority of Parliament. O'Connell's Catholic Association was no exception, and it was legally harassed before the passage of Emancipation and duly suppressed when Emancipation became law.

If the Catholic Association aroused the worst fears of responsible British politicians, the Repeal Association confirmed them. O'Connell was not only attempting to set the law at defiance, but he was now trying to impose it on Parliament by invoking as his sanction that most dangerous principle, the legitimacy of "opinion out of doors" become popular sovereignty. Moreover, when he and his association took upon themselves the responsibility of maintaining order in Ireland as well as sanctioning law, they were in a fair position to claim to be the *de facto* power. In such a situation all that remained necessary for the creation of an embryo state was the effective crystallization of the local and national political apparatus in the will of the "leader," who would then emerge as the *de facto* head of state. The important point to be made here, however, is that without the support of a significant body of politically responsible public opinion in Britain, no Irish issue—whether about civil liberty or where ultimate power lay—was constitutionally viable. In other words, to confront a British government by creating a *de facto* control, or an embryo state, in Ireland was simply not enough because a constitutional settlement of any Irish question was ultimately dependent on a *de jure* ratification by a majority in the imperial Parliament.

O'Connell's real significance does not lie in what he was unable to achieve, but rather in the various means he devised to accomplish his ends. The means, products of an incredibly fertile political imagination, were his real legacy to his political posterity. He made participatory democracy as real in Ireland as he made the Irish party viable in the House of Commons. Moreover, in 1828 and 1829 he created a stable embryo Irish state, and he very nearly did it again in 1843. On both occasions he was undisputed leader of his people, he taxed them, and, through his assumption of quasi-judicial and quasi-police functions, he made himself and his political apparatus responsible for law and order.¹⁶ With Emancipation his embryo state simply dissolved because the end for which it had been organized was achieved. His attempt to put together for repeal that same combination

¹⁵ Reynolds, *Catholic Emancipation Crisis*, 14–30.

¹⁶ Oliver MacDonagh, "The Contribution of O'Connell," in Brian Farrell, ed., *The Irish Parliamentary Tradition* (Dublin, 1973), 164–65.

of large and small tenant farmers, high and low clergy, city merchants and country shopkeepers, liberal Protestants and ecumenical Catholics, and the men of no property, that large, though less-respectable class, was frustrated because important segments of this combination did not really believe in repeal as a practical end, especially if the alternative was civil war.¹⁷ Still, O'Connell could find some solace in the fact that the combination of the larger tenant farmers and the lower clergy had generally proven steadfast in its support of repeal. His fundamental political strength, in truth, was always found in the south and west where this combination was most formidable, and in effecting this combination he provided the real basis for any nationalist movement in the future.¹⁸ In this, then, as in so much else, O'Connell showed his successors the way in which an Irish state might be made without actually resorting to insurrection. His ultimate tragedy was that in the face of incredibly adverse circumstances he could neither mobilize his materials nor synchronize his means to bring about this end.

THE LESSONS TAUGHT BY DANIEL O'CONNELL in his efforts to create an Irish state seemed to have been lost on the political generation that succeeded him, but the appearance belied the reality. Actually, the third quarter of

¹⁷ See, for example, the correspondence of the venerable and influential archbishop of Dublin, Daniel Murray, who led the opposition among the bishops to the political and ecclesiastical policies of Archbishop MacHale and who wrote to Paul Cullen, rector of the Irish College in Rome, complaining of MacHale's alter ego, the bishop of Ardagh and Clonmacnoise: "Doctor Higgins has brought us into sad trouble by a very intemperate speech which he made at a Repeal dinner in Mullingar. He not only declared that all the Bishops in Ireland are ardent Repealers but that they participate in every sentiment which he uttered one of which was that he owed nothing to any Aristocrat, save the *unbounded contempt* that he had for the *whole class*, and another of which was that if the Meetings of the Union were prevented from being held in the open fields we would retire to our Chapels, and *suspend all other instruction, in order to devote all our time to teaching the people to be Repealers*. I was obliged in my own defense to declare that I have taken no part whatever in the great political movement which is agitating the Country. I am sure that political agitation of this kind will not be considered at Rome as the fittest occupation of a Bishop. Could anything be prudently done there to restrain us somewhat more within the sphere of our immediate duties? Could any private admonition to that effect be prudently given? The whole Country is kept in a state of ferment for the purpose of obtaining an object, which the Govt declares will be resisted even at the hazard of Civil War. And yet many of the Clergy and even several of the Bishops (no doubt for good, but I believe very mistaken motives) are keeping alive this dangerous excitement. In the meantime the Govt is alarmed, and is looking with great anxiety at the part that our Clergy are acting. I believe that it is an unwise part; and that if they were more deeply imbued with horror for the calamities which ensued from the French Revolution and the Irish Insurrection they would be slow to adopt it." May 5, 1843, Cullen Papers.

¹⁸ The correlation between O'Connell's parliamentary strength and the area where the Roman Catholic tenant farmers who held more than thirty, and especially more than one hundred, acres predominated is evident. If a line is drawn, for example, from Galway city on the west coast, north and east to the port town of Dundalk, on the east coast, the area south of the line is O'Connell's political stronghold and the home of the more than thirty acre Catholic tenant farmers. For the representational pattern of O'Connell's political strength, see Macintyre, *Liberator: Daniel O'Connell*, app. D, following page 309. For the geographical distribution of the more than thirty acre Catholic tenant farmers, see T. W. Freeman, *Ireland: A General and Regional Geography* (London, 1969), fig. 32, p. 184. See also Ruth Dudley Edwards, *An Atlas of Irish History* (London, 1973), 170.

the nineteenth century in Ireland was the period between seedtime and harvest. Those elements of weakness that had so hampered O'Connell were either corrected or eliminated, and Irish society between 1850 and 1875, at least on the Catholic and nationalist side, became both more prosperous and homogeneous. The culture of poverty that had been in the making since 1780 was virtually liquidated after 1850 through emigration, and the marginal tenant farmers were forced to the same extreme through eviction. The larger tenant farmers were not only thus enabled to consolidate their holdings, but they were freer to convert from tillage to pasture and thereby reap the profits available in the strong and steady prices sustained by the demand of the British market for their products. The great reduction in the number of laborers, cottiers, and marginal farmers after 1850 also resulted in Irish society becoming more homogeneous as well as prosperous. The breaking up of the culture of poverty at the famine, for example, not only resulted in Irish society as a whole becoming more respectable or "lace curtain," but Gaelic Ireland also received a blow in that social catastrophe from which it never recovered. The larger tenant farmers, therefore, not only became the dominant political and economic class after 1850, but they became the dominant social and cultural class as well.

The Church, the third element necessary to the structuring of a satisfactory political frame, was crucial in helping to effect this social and cultural homogeneity of the nation. But when one speaks of the Irish Church, what does one actually mean? What is meant here are the people in the Church who counted, and those who counted were the active as distinguished from the passive—the bishops, the priests, and the larger tenant farmers, or the nation-forming class. They counted, moreover, in that order. At the base of the pyramid were the larger tenant farmers, who not only provided the Church with its main financial support and staffed it with their sons and daughters, but who were always its practicing and devotional nucleus.¹⁹ In the late eighteenth century this class, allied with

¹⁹ Given the meager amount of work done in Irish social history to date, it is of course impossible as yet to prove in any statistically conclusive way the financial, numerical, and devotional importance of the strong tenant farmers as a class to the Irish Church. Still, when all the evidence is in, I do not think the picture will appreciably change from what it is now possible to construct with the evidence available. Even a brief perusal, for example, of the three volumes of Peadar MacSuibhne's *Paul Cullen and His Contemporaries* (Kildare, 1961-65) will make clear the importance of the strong tenant farmers to the Church. The letters to Paul Cullen in the Irish College in Rome from his family also give a good picture of the abilities and values of the cream of the Catholic tenant farmer class. The extended family was very often financially mobilized in the interests of both Cullen and the college of which he was rector. His brother Thomas, for example, wrote him from Liverpool that "after you had written to Mick some time since stating that your cash was running low we applied to Uncle Pat to agitate a little amongst the friends in Meath to make up five Hundred pounds to send you." Thomas went on to explain that the death of Uncle William, who left a very large family, had "upset the project," but that they had then resolved among themselves to make up £250. "You might well thank Peter," Thomas concluded, "for his portion of £60—a like sum from me and £130 from Mick." Sept. 8, 1837, Cullen Papers. Or again, Thomas wrote enclosing £200 and included the names of the contributors so that they might be properly thanked: "Pat Maher—50 [?], 10, Thomas Maher 30, Mrs. Whelan 10, Mrs. Wood 10, My mother 10, Edw Cullen 10 & c—70." Apr. 8, 1840,

its cousinhood in the towns, probably numbered about seven hundred thousand in a Catholic population of three million. By 1845 they still numbered less than a million in a Catholic population that had increased to nearly seven million. Each decade after the famine, however, their numerical situation improved absolutely and relatively. In 1850, for example, they numbered nearly one million in five, while by 1900 they numbered about one million in three of the Catholic population. In the light of this improving numerical relationship it is easier, therefore, to understand how the Church between 1850 and 1875 was able to effect a devotional revolution that made practicing Catholics of Irish men, women, and children and to become in the process psychologically almost at one with the nation's identity as Irish and Catholic became virtually synonymous.

But if the larger tenant farmers provided the sinews of the Church, it can hardly be said that they spoke for it. Even at the risk of some obvious distortion, however, it may be fairly asserted that at least the voice of the Church, if not its mind, was increasingly found in the *coetus episcoporum*, or the bishops as a body. This assertion is justified to some extent by the fact that one of the most significant themes in the history of the Irish Church in the nineteenth century was the increase in episcopal authority, especially vis-à-vis the priests. Moreover, given the mode of nomination by the senior clergy of a diocese and the report by the bishops of the province for the authoritative decision of Rome, the Irish bishops as a body were generally representative of the clergy. Finally, when the Irish bishops spoke as a body they were always understood to be speaking authoritatively for the Irish Church. With this modified, though traditional *clerico e laico*, working definition of the Irish Church in hand, it is now possible to attempt to explain how indeed the Church itself became unified in the process of making practicing Catholics of the Irish people in a generation.

Two factors were crucial in this process. The first was the founding of the national seminary at Maynooth in 1795; the second was the appointment in late 1849 of Paul Cullen as archbishop of Armagh and apostolic delegate to the Holy See. The former resulted in the Irish Church acquiring over the years a more uniform and better-disciplined priesthood, while the latter finally effected that authoritative control in the Irish Church that

Cullen Papers. For an interesting discussion of the contribution of the tenant farmer class to the composition of the Irish clergy, see K. H. Connell, *Irish Peasant Society* (Oxford, 1968), 123-26. See also John Healy, *Maynooth College: Its Centenary History* (Dublin, 1895), 366-67, and Reynolds, *Catholic Emancipation Crisis*, 45. For a discussion of the incidence of religious practice before the famine, see the important article by David W. Miller, "Catholic Religious Practice in Pre-Famine Ireland," *Journal of Social History*, 8 (1975). There seems to be a real correlation between the higher incidence of attendance at mass and the area of O'Connellite representation that was dominated by the more than thirty acre tenant farmer class. The correlation is even more convincing between the high incidence of mass attendance and the towns that returned O'Connellites to Parliament and where the Catholic shopkeepers and £10 householders were in the ascendancy.

was being striven for in the universal Church at the same time by Pius IX. Between 1795 and 1845 Maynooth provided the Irish Church with perhaps something more than half the priests it needed. After 1845, as a result of Sir Robert Peel's increased grant, Maynooth produced priests enough, in the face of a declining population, to provide for the whole of the Irish Church. By 1850, for example, the great majority of the bishops, and by 1875 the great majority of the priests, on the Irish mission had been trained at Maynooth.²⁰ But what was even more important than the impressive increase in numbers was that Maynooth came to produce the Irish priest and the values that corresponded to that prototype.

But what indeed were the values of the Maynooth priest? He was at once a patriot in politics and a rigorist in his moral theology. "There are two things," Aiden Devereaux, an Irish priest trained in Rome, wrote Paul Cullen, rector of the Irish College there on September 19, 1836, "which the Roman students on their return to this mission will help to do. Namely to put down a spirit of disregard to Papal authority which during the last twenty years is beginning to spring up in the minds of some of the younger and more ignorant of the clergy and a spirit of rigorism which has been introduced into the national seminaries by French Professors and their disciples."

Amongst a Conference composed of such persons as these if a Roman student maintains for instance that "... the *precept* of the Church is fulfilled by hearing Mass on a Sunday" and that "anything further although most earnestly to be recommended as a matter of counsel is not to be enjoined under pain of Mortal sin in the tribunal" he would be looked upon as next door to impiety and yet I have heard the professors and preachers in Rome preach and teach that proposition most emphatically. The Roman opinion however cannot fail to operate as a check upon extremes of either class and amongst the more rational and unprejudiced cannot fail to have due weight.²¹

The rigorism Father Devereaux complained about has been aptly described as "the moral system of those who draw too tightly the reins of law in restriction of a man's natural liberty of action; who are inclined to make precepts out of counsels, and mortal sins out of venial ones. In cases of doubt, whether as to the law or the fact they hold that the law is binding

²⁰ See Healy, *Maynooth College*, 370, and also "Complete List of Prelates Educated at Maynooth," 631-34. Twenty of the twenty-seven Irish bishops in 1850 were educated at Maynooth. See also app. 13, pp. 729-30. For example, from 1845, when the Maynooth grant was increased by Peel, until January 1, 1871, when the grant was withdrawn with compensation in consequence of disestablishment all around in 1869, there were some 500 free places on the public foundation. There were also some 25 free places available on private foundations at Maynooth (p. 726) for a grand total of 525 free places. The number of students at Maynooth, however, always exceeded the number of free places because of those who could, partially or fully, pay their own way. Before the increase in the parliamentary grant in 1845, when there were only some 275 free places that were publicly and privately endowed, there were more than 400 students, and in 1895, when there were still some 368 free places, there were 614 students attending Maynooth.

²¹ Aiden Devereaux to Paul Cullen, Sept. 19, 1836, Cullen Papers.

until the doubt is cleared up in favour of liberty; and thus they impose an intolerable burden on men, especially on scrupulous and conscientious men, whose doubts are often imaginary, and if yielded to may go far to destroy the peace of their conscience and the happiness of their lives.”²² There is little doubt that there was a tendency toward rigorism in the early moral teaching at Maynooth. That the success of such teaching there, however, can be attributed entirely to the French-trained professors and their textbooks is doubtful. The rigorism that pervaded the teaching at Maynooth was also the result of the growing awareness on the part of the bishops of the need to meet the requirements of the Irish mission. The geometrical increase in the population after 1800 obviously required more priests, but given the arithmetical nature of the supply, they must also be better disciplined and more attentive in their pastoral duties. Given the launching in 1820, moreover, of the New Reformation in Ireland by the Protestant evangelicals or “Biblicals,” a more learned and articulate clergy was also required. Maynooth responded to the challenge, and the result of providing a better-educated, disciplined, and pastorally attentive clergy was to produce a more morally rigorous one as well. In brief, the French-trained professors at Maynooth were as much involved in meeting a real pastoral need as in providing a stricter system of moral theology.

The brand of patriotism, however, that developed at Maynooth after 1815 had a more positive side to it than merely a Gallic disregard for the authority of the pope as described by Father Devereaux. The struggle against the veto, the launching of the New Reformation by the Protestant evangelicals, and the campaign for Catholic Emancipation successively deepened the national consciousness of the Irish clergy in general and the faculty and students at Maynooth in particular.²³ When O’Connell launched his agitation for repeal in late 1829, however, the older generation of priests, who had been trained on the Continent, drew back and attempted to distinguish between what was politico-religious and purely political. Given the fact, moreover, that the Irish bishops then closed their chapels to repeal agitation and exhorted their clergy to restrain themselves with regard to it, and also that Maynooth was a government-subsidized institution, the faculty and students there naturally assumed a low profile in politics in deference to both ecclesiastical and governmental authority. The nationalist leaven continued to work, however, for by 1843 the faculty were apparently nearly all moderate Repealers, and if Thomas Cullen, a young seminarian, was a fair example, the students were even more ardent. “There is no talk,” Thomas enthusiastically assured his first cousin, Paul Cullen in Rome, from Maynooth on May 20, 1843, “about anything else but Dan and Repeal.”²⁴ “Dr. Higgins,” he reported, referring to the bishop of Ardagh and

²² Healy, *Maynooth College*, 283–84.

²³ Reynolds, *Catholic Emancipation Crisis*, 46.

²⁴ Thomas Cullen to Paul Cullen, May 20, 1843, Cullen Papers.

Clonmacnoise, "made a most violent speech on Sunday last before a 100 000 men in which he stated that all the bishops of Ireland were out and out repealers." "It is the common opinion in Ireland," Thomas then added, "that we will either have the union repealed or a civil war before the close of this year."

All the tory Journals are preaching up the doctrine of *assassination* as the only means of saving Ireland from a civil war. They say Dan should be sacrificed on the altar of repeal. I hope you will recommend him to the prayers of every well wisher of his native land, poor Ireland. He is doing wonders for the regeneration of this country and if the Almighty in his mercy spares him for a few years longer I have no doubt but that we will live to see Ireland what nature destined her to be "An nation / great, glorious and free / first flower of the / earth and first gem / of the sea."

"The bishop," Thomas concluded, referring to their common diocesan, Francis Haly, the bishop of Kildare and Leighlin, "is as yet a non repealer and of course is keeping back the clergy of our diocese."²⁵

The faculty at Maynooth were naturally somewhat more prudent in their advocacy of repeal. For example, Charles W. Russell, professor of humanity at Maynooth and later its president for twenty-three years, arrived home at the climax of O'Connell's agitation in the late summer of 1843 after an extended stay in Rome on personal business. "My journey homewards," he reported on August 28 to Paul Cullen, his host in Rome, "& what I have seen since & heard, have made me a confirmed repealer." "It is far harder," he explained to Cullen, "to *see ahead* here than it was in Rome: but everyone agrees that *something must come of it*. I am inclined to think it must come *itself*; though I cannot even guess how."²⁶ Less than a month later Russell wrote Cullen again explaining that though repeal was far stronger than when he last wrote, he thought that "even still, *instalments* will be gladly taken." "The meetings are as *monstrous* as ever," he noted further, "& what I look upon as the strongest sign of the times, the non-repealers are growing louder & louder in their calls for *justice*. This class is now very generally falling into the *federalist* party." "We are here," he assured Cullen in conclusion, distinguishing between his own party and the radical Repealers, or Young Irelanders, "with hardly an exception moderate men."²⁷ In the last analysis, then, what was created at Maynooth was a commitment to constitutional nationalism that precluded the physical-force tradition in modern Irish politics.

While the Irish Church was thus being unified by Maynooth from the bottom up in terms of its personnel and its values, Pius IX, in terms of authority, proceeded to complement that development from the top down by appointing Paul Cullen archbishop of Armagh and apostolic delegate

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ Charles W. Russell to Paul Cullen, Aug. 28, 1843, *ibid.*

²⁷ Russell to Cullen, Sept. 24, 1843, *ibid.*

in late 1849. With the accession of Cullen the quarrels that had resulted in a civil war among the bishops in the Irish Church in the 1840s began to subside, and by the time he died a cardinal in late 1878 Cullen had succeeded in creating an episcopal body from which to dissent in public or in the press, on the part of either a bishop or a priest, would have constituted a grave ecclesiastical scandal. The critical subject, of course, on which the Irish Church, under the leadership of Cullen and through the bishops as a body, learned to speak with one voice and one mind was the education question. Between 1850 and 1878 Cullen, who had been translated to Dublin in 1852, devoted a large part of his energies to modifying, if he could not eliminate, state control over education. When, for example, the bishop of Kerry, David Moriarty, who was not at one with Cullen on the education question, wrote him complaining that it was not wise to discourage Catholics from serving as commissioners on the National Board of Education, Cullen firmly pointed out what he thought was the correct policy. "In reply," he informed Moriarty from Dublin on October 7, 1862, "I beg to assure you that I have not used my influence to prevent good Catholics from joining the board. I leave them altogether to their own discretion." "However," Cullen noted, "I see a great objection to accepting office, which I cannot remove." "Those who become commissioners," he explained, "are I suppose, pledged to maintain the system as it is. They must uphold the model schools, and in doing so they throw the formation of all masters into the hands of a protestant government, and they contribute as far as in them lies, to undermine Catholicity in the country."

Your Lordship says that all the gentry of the country are against the Bishops. Fortunately the gentry do not represent the country—they are few, and I believe they were as much for the Veto as they are for mixed or infidel education.

Your Lordship is afraid that the Irish Cavour Party may get hold of the system. I entertain the same fear, and I think we ought all to fear such a result as long as we are at the mercy of a Palmerston or any other English minister. Such ministers may appoint Cavourites any day they wish according to the present system.

As the system is working actually it is in Protestant and Presbyterian hands, and the Catholics who were on the board and who were quite as zealous as those now spoken of, did not, perhaps could not, prevent the system from being made much more dangerous than it was in the beginning.

Hopes of changes are now held out but if they are really intended, why are they not officially announced.

"As long," Cullen finally declared, "as the model schools and training schools are maintained, I will oppose the system." "I trust," he warned, "to be able very soon to assail openly the model schools in this city. I will do it by ecclesiastical censures as soon as matters will be ripe for such a step."²⁸

²⁸ Cullen to David Moriarty, Oct. 7, 1862, William Monsell Papers, National Library of Ireland, Dublin, box 8.319.

Why Cullen was able to have his way in the long run, however, was that he was just as prudent as he was patient and determined. When, for example, his faithful friend and successor as rector of the Irish College in Rome, Tobias Kirby, wrote him late in the summer of 1862 suggesting that the problem of infidel education would be soon solved if the clergy withdrew their schools from all connection with the government, Cullen immediately made it clear not only what the results of such rash action would be, but what indeed the consequences of such a course had been in the past. "You appear to think," he wrote Kirby, "that it wd be an easy matter to withdraw the children from all the National Schools." "It wd.," Cullen explained, "be almost impossible, and it wd be very dangerous to attempt it."

Imprimis you cd not get either Bishops or priests to agree on such a step—posso if you refuse the grant, the schools wd be closed, as it wd be impossible to collect the amount. In some parishes there are 10 schools—which receive £30 or £40 each, that is £300 or £400 per an. and in the same parishes all the art of man wd not succeed in collecting £100 per an for schools such is the poverty of the people.

As to the model schools, the country ones and the small ones can be put down readily. The big ones cannot be put down until there will be other schools to receive the children. They can be discredited and checked and when there will be other schools for the children, they may be prohibited but it is not safe to do anything unless where success is certain. Everything can be done gradually, but if we fail in any attempt, we lose immensely—If the Bishops who assailed the System in 1837 to 1845 had gone on cautiously and quietly, instead of recurring to violent denunciations they wd have done good service, whereas they failed in everything.

"Now thanks be to God," Cullen concluded, "all who were offended by past violence are coming round—and as we are becoming unanimous everything may be done by degrees."²⁹

When the government, in fact, only five years later asked the bishop of Kerry whether he would consent to serve on a royal commission to inquire into and report on the national system of primary education, he prudently wrote Cullen asking for his advice. Cullen refused to be drawn into the question and adroitly suggested instead that Moriarty ask the opinion of the body of the bishops who were just about to meet. When the bishops advised against his accepting and Moriarty then deferred to his colleagues,³⁰ Russell, the president of Maynooth, also declined the government's invitation. With the refusal of Moriarty and Russell, moreover, the earl of Dunraven, a prominent convert, also declined to serve. Such was the ascendancy that Cullen, now a cardinal, had achieved by 1867 among the clergy and laity on the education question. His total achievement was, in fact, quite

²⁹ Cullen to Tobias Kirby, Tobias Kirby Papers, Archives of the Irish College, Rome.

³⁰ Cullen to Moriarty, Sept. 19, 1867, Monsell Papers.

impressive. In less than a generation he had not only insisted on building and maintaining, at enormous cost, a Catholic intermediate and university system in order to prevent the state from further encroaching in those areas, but he tenaciously resisted all efforts by the Board of National Education, which was responsible for the national system of primary education, to expand its control, while he attempted to do as much as he could to undermine its authority. He built, moreover, and again at enormous cost, a large diocesan seminary at Clonliffe because he disliked being too dependent for the training of his clergy on Maynooth, which up until 1869, at least, remained a state-subsidized institution. What Cullen was really opposed to, however, was not just state control over education, but any form of lay control over education, whether English or Irish.³¹ Still, Cullen was able to have his way with regard to education for Catholics in Ireland because his policy was essentially a national one. He was in effect demanding Home Rule in a crucial social area, an area, moreover, that would be vital to the infrastructure of a *de facto* Irish state whenever it emerged. In any case, by the time the cardinal died in 1878, the education that existed for Catholics in Ireland was largely controlled by the Church.

The other subject on which the cardinal had equally strong convictions was the Irish Republican, or Fenian, brotherhood. He did not, however, manage to carry the Irish clergy so completely with him in the condemnation of Fenianism as he had on mixed education.³² Several of the bishops, including the archbishop of Tuam, John MacHale, and a considerable number of the lower clergy were loath to condemn the Fenians because they were afraid such action would lessen their influence with their people. One of Cullen's most loyal supporters on the education question, William Keane, bishop of Cloyne, for example, had quietly ordered his priests in late 1865 not to denounce the Fenians.³³ In writing to Kirby in Rome shortly after, Keane cautiously attempted to explain how difficult the situation had become. "The first question of the day," he solemnly informed Kirby on February 6, 1866, from Queenstown, "is that of 'Fenianism.'"

³¹ Cullen's insistence on episcopal control over education was so consistent that he would not even tolerate other forms of clerical control. For example, in 1877 the Irish Christian Brothers, a very large Catholic teaching order, appealed to Rome about the statutes concerning them, which had been passed among the many at the Synod of Maynooth in 1875 by the Irish bishops for the good governance of the Irish Church. In their memorial to Rome the brothers had asked that the bishops and parish priests be excluded from examining in their schools in secular subjects, but they were willing to allow them to examine their pupils in catechism. "Their pretensions on this score," Cullen complained to Laurence Gillooly, the bishop of Elphin, on January 29, 1878, when Rome forwarded him the brothers' memorial for his reply, "are much higher than those of the government. The National Board allows the P.P.'s as managers to examine in everything." Laurence Gillooly Papers, Archives of the Diocese of Elphin, Sligo. A few days later Cullen informed Kirby in Rome that he and the bishops of his province had drawn up a reply for propaganda and, "I think it is made quite clear that nihil innovandum est." Feb. 1, 1878, Kirby Papers.

³² E. R. Norman, *The Catholic Church and Ireland in the Age of Rebellion 1859-1873* (London, 1965), 86-132.

³³ James O'Leary to Kirby, Dec. 7, 1865, Kirby Papers.

"It is destined," Keane prophesied, "to exercise an extraordinary influence on the future relations between priests and people." "The mass of the public," he explained to Kirby, "down to the very children going to school, are either Fenians or sympathise with the Fenians, not because they wish to give up the faith, or to neglect their religious duties, but because they hate England the enemy of their country and of their creed, and of the Holy Father and of everything Catholic, and because the Fenians are opposed to England." "If once the masses," Keane then warned in conclusion, "throw off the respect they always had for their priests, then will come the real Irish difficulty for England and for all concerned."³⁴

The real significance of Fenianism, however, has been clouded by the quarrel of the Church with it. Fenianism was above all a class movement composed of laborers, cottiers, marginal farmers in the country, mechanics, tradesmen, and clerks in the towns, and enlisted men in the British army.³⁵ What the brotherhood achieved, in effect, was the politicization in the national interest of that still large but now more respectable class, the men of no property. In other words, it politicized what was left of a class that before the famine had tended to degenerate into the terrorism of agrarian secret societies. Clearing the countryside through eviction and emigration tended to locate the strength and influence of Fenianism in Irish towns and among the Irish proletariat in Britain and America, and this made Fenianism appear to be a more urban phenomenon than perhaps it really was. As an oath-bound secret society, of course, the brotherhood was condemned by the Church, but this was not what was really at the heart of their quarrel. Cardinal Cullen not only had a horror of lay control over education, but he also had a horror, strongly reinforced by his actual experience in Rome in 1849 with the republic of Mazzini, of a revolutionary lay ascendancy over the affections of the poor (read "ignorant"). In the mind of Cullen, the Fenians posed just such a threat.³⁶ The cardinal's very real concern for the poor was intermingled with a deeper concern for their obvious susceptibility to unprincipled agitators, who would use them for their own ends by playing on their patriotism and eventually, as had been and still was the case in the Papal States, threaten their faith by under-

³⁴ William Keane to Kirby, Feb. 6, 1866, *ibid.*

³⁵ For an interesting discussion of Fenianism as a class movement, see Malcolm Brown, *The Politics of Irish Literature* (London, 1972), 155-57. See also Cullen's remark to Kirby describing the situation in Dublin: "The poor have not joined the brotherhood of S.P. [St. Patrick]—the brothers are a degree higher—tradesmen and mechanics who read the newspapers." Apr. 22, 1862, Kirby Papers.

³⁶ Cullen to Kirby, Apr. 6, 1862, Kirby Papers. "I sent you all sorts of papers about the brotherhood of S. Patrick. I fear it will do great mischief. The principles are most dangerous, and the design is to set the people against the priests." On enclosing £200 in Peter's Pence to Kirby on April 22, 1862, Cullen remarked, "Are not the poor very good—they give all—but the nasty secret societies wd soon destroy them." Again on May 9, 1862, Cullen explained to Kirby in Italian, "It is a very dangerous society, and it will become more dangerous because the members who are priests claim to have the approval of Monsignor MacHale. . . . I hope that our poor people will be saved from the danger of adopting the wicked maxims of Mazzini and Garibaldi." *Ibid.*

mining the power and influence of the clergy. As the cardinal and the Irish clergy, therefore, attempted to deepen their devotional revolution and make Irish Catholicism less a class and more a national phenomenon, they competed with the Fenians for the affections of the same constituency. What has also been overlooked in this contest between Church and brotherhood, however, is that both were making a fundamental contribution to the creation of a homogeneous national consciousness that transcended class. The Church had indeed created an Irish Catholicism that included the men of no property, while the brotherhood guaranteed the commitment of the most able and articulate members of that class to the idea of an Irish state as a "Republic now virtually established." In other words, neither the Church nor the brotherhood, for their own reasons, allowed status or property to stand in the way of their conception of the national ideal.

WHAT HAD BEEN CREATED then between 1850 and 1878 was a wealthier, better-educated, and more practically Catholic Irish national community that was as yet unable to focus on its political end—an Irish state. This inability to focus was a result of serious differences in the community over means, whether constitutional in terms of repeal or federalism or revolutionary in terms of a Fenian republic. Until some consensus emerged, therefore, the end remained only an idea. The circumstances which eventually produced that consensus, however, were not long in coming. The three successive harvest failures in Ireland between 1877 and 1879 along with the collapse of world agricultural prices because of competition from the New World radicalized both the laborers and the tenant farmers. The former were faced with starvation and the latter with eviction, and both with emigration if they were to survive. The crisis resulted in the emergence of Charles Stewart Parnell as the leader of a combined agrarian and political movement. For several years Parnell had been attempting to provide the policy on which the Irish nation could focus and effect a political consensus.³⁷ He argued for the adoption of a middle course between the tame, submissive constitutionalism of Isaac Butt and the physical-force methods of the Fenians. He maintained that an active policy in the House of Commons, consisting of obstruction and intimidation, would not only bring the attention of the British government to Irish grievances, but it would soon make it realize that Irish business might be better done in Dublin than at Westminster, and certainly at less inconvenience to British legislation. What the British really respected, Parnell further argued, was power, and in the House of Commons power was found in numbers. Home Rule then would only come as a result of the creation of a disciplined Irish party in

³⁷ Michael V. Hazel, "The Young Charles Stewart Parnell, 1874-1876," *Éire-Ireland*, 8 (1973): 44-45.

the House of Commons backed by the determined will of the Irish people organized in an irresistible national political phalanx.

In the seven short years between his taking up the combined leadership of the Land League and the Home Rule movements in 1879 and the introduction of Gladstone's first Home Rule Bill in 1886, Parnell created the modern Irish state. He was able to achieve what O'Connell had failed to do in the decades of the 1830s and 1840s not only because he was better favored by time and circumstance, but also because, like O'Connell, he was a politician of genius. For in the Land League of 1879 and 1880 he successfully focused a national political consciousness by creating a genuine national grass-roots organization that made every Catholic tenant farmer and shopkeeper realize that they not only had something to defend together as farmers and shopkeepers, but something to aspire to as Irishmen.³⁸ Between 1882 and 1885, furthermore, Parnell structured and contained that consciousness he had focused in the Land League by creating a national and local political apparatus that gave both substance and coherence to the idea of a *de facto* Irish state. Through the Irish National League, which he founded in 1882 after the suppression of the Land League and which rapidly established branches in nearly every parish in Ireland, Parnell eventually made himself and his party responsible for the administration of law and the maintenance of order. Through the league, for example, Parnell and his party administered Gladstone's Land Act of 1881, seized control of the great majority of Poor Law Guardian Boards outside of Protestant Ulster, and executed rough justice on those who would dare defy the league's law with respect to evictions and land-grabbing. By 1885, despite three years of renewed coercion acts on the part of Gladstone's Liberal

³⁸ For the attitude of at least one of those Catholic tenant farmers, see the semiliterate letter of Denis Riordan to his brother Michael, a seminarian in the Irish College in Rome, on January 1, 1881: "I had settled with my Landlord before the agitation had become properly fruitful. Very probably but for the action of Mr. Parnell half the people would be ejected from their Homes, and inspite of the power of Landlord or Government he have stoped Eviction and reduced the rents to Griffet's valuation in many cases. Now for instance my father, who was paying £116-0-0, the[y] obliged to take £56-0-0 it being the valuation. There is a Land League in every parish in the County with the Priests in allmost all cases at the head of it. The county is at present in great excitement as Mr. Parnell T D Sullivan & twelve others are being procuted by the Government but we have great hopes the jury will not find them guilty as the charges are innocent ones, because he want to put down tyrants, I will not say any more on this subject, as I could not properly explain to you the good he has done for the Irish people and the terrible stroke he have given to the Landlord class." Michael O'Riordan Papers, Archives of the Irish College, Rome. For the ascendancy of the Land League, see Sir Robert Anderson, *Sidelights on the Home Rule Movement* (London, 1906), 110: "But no mere list of these crimes would convey an adequate impression of the horrors of the Land League rule in Ireland. In many districts terror reigned in every cottage home that refused allegiance to what was fitly called 'the *de facto* Government.'" See also the *London Times*, Apr. 3, 1882: "What the power of summarily arresting and keeping in custody suspected persons has accomplished is the overthrow of the system of lawlessness embodied in the Land League, which aspired to, and in August and September last had succeeded in, establishing a rival Government to that of the Queen throughout the greater part of Ireland. The supremacy of such a power would have been fatal to the authority of the Imperial Crown." Quoted in Henry Harrison, *Parnell Vindicated* (Dublin, 1931), app. C, p. 334. I am most grateful to Mr. William H. Murphy for calling both of these pieces of evidence to my attention.

government, law and order in Ireland depended more on Parnell and his party than it did on Her Majesty's viceroy and his Irish executive. When, indeed, the Conservative government, which succeeded after the fall of Gladstone's ministry in the summer of 1885, allowed the Coercion Act to lapse as the *quid pro quo* for Irish support in the House of Commons, actual *de facto* political control in Ireland fell to Parnell and his party.³⁹ Finally, in the general elections of 1885 and 1886, Parnell crystallized in his person as leader and institutionalized in the Irish Parliamentary party the deep conviction among Irishmen that their state would soon be as legal as it was then real.

The conversion of the Irish clergy in this great political revival was perhaps, after the containment of land agitation, the most significant factor in the creation of the Irish state.⁴⁰ Though the vast majority of the junior clergy, a smaller majority of the senior clergy, and a minority of the bishops

³⁹ The situation was perhaps summed up best by the earl of Carnarvon, who when he wrote this long and statesmanlike memorandum for his cabinet colleagues on December 7, 1886, had been the lord lieutenant of Ireland in a caretaker Conservative government for six months: "As regards the condition of the country, agrarian crime and outrage have been and continue low. . . . Boycotting has been held in check, as I said it would be, and has diminished, though it is still very mischievous and capable of development. On the other hand, the National League has lost none of its power. It has, on the contrary, acquired a remarkable organization and force. The Roman Catholic Clergy, though with reluctance on the part of the Bishops and higher clergy have been drawn more and more under the influence of the National League and into the ranks of the Nationalist Party. The landlords seem in most districts hopelessly alienated from the tenants, and without influence. . . . To all this I must add that there is a great development of the Secret Societies in the United States, an abundance of money subscribed, the closest communication existing between them and kindred Societies in Ireland, which though not active, are only waiting the signal to become so, and are every week growing more formidable. . . . I can see only three courses: (1) To propose nothing and do nothing, and wait till we are turned out by a combination of Liberals and Irish, which is a view I only mention to discard, (2) The adoption of some considerable, yet comparatively minor measures in the hopes of tiding over the difficulty till the Irish Party are disintegrated—which, by the way, let me say would not really settle the difficulty or, perhaps, much improve the case. A large scheme of higher education seemed, at one time, the most likely expedient in this direction. . . . But events have moved too fast, and I am afraid that the attempt now would be too late, mainly through the action of one man. The Archbishop of Dublin, it is clear, has made an alliance with Mr. Parnell; he has publicly declared against such settlement as I think we ought to make, and he has within the last few weeks, strange to say, apparently won over a majority of the Bishops. . . . (3) One last alternative remains, viz. to do something without committing ourselves as a Government to any course which might divide the Party. I wish my colleagues to consider whether it might not be possible to propose a Joint Committee of both Houses to consider the relations of Ireland and England, or the better government of Ireland, or some such general proposition, subject to the two following conditions, expressed in the most distinct language. 1. The supremacy and authority of the Crown. 2. The maintenance of the rights of minorities in religion and property. This would gain time, would educate the party and the country to a knowledge of the case, in which they are extraordinarily ignorant; would be constitutionally a very defensible course; would give a chance of moderate counsels prevailing, would receive the combined action of both parties; and would, if we failed to come to a conclusion through the fault of the Irish Party, leave us free to deal with the question in a much more decided manner—and all this without committing the Government in the first instance to any definite proposals." Earl of Carnarvon Papers, Public Record Office, London, 30/6/55. When the cabinet opted indeed for the alternative Carnarvon mentioned only "to discard," he remarked to the Earl of Harrowby, Lord Privy Seal, "but a Cabinet is like a Council of War: it is very timid." Dec. 17, 1886, Carnarvon Papers.

⁴⁰ Emmet Larkin, *The Roman Catholic Church and the Creation of the Modern Irish State, 1878-1886* (Philadelphia, 1975).

soon committed themselves to the Land League, a majority of the bishops, perhaps eighteen in a hierarchy of twenty-eight, remained either hostile or suspicious. The majority, moreover, were reinforced in their numbers by the knowledge that their attitude was approved of at Rome. Whatever their initial advantages, however, the majority soon found that their position was virtually untenable. If they refused to allow their priests to participate in the league, the initiative would be seized by socialists, Fenians, Protestants, and what was perhaps even worse, "Godless nobodies." John MacEvilly, bishop of Galway and coadjutor to the archbishop of Tuam, explained the dilemma the majority faced in a long letter to Kirby in Rome soon after the league was founded. "Whether the priests will it or no," MacEvilly reported on December 11, 1879, "the meetings will be held. Their people will assemble under the pressure of threatened famine to expound their wrongs to landlords and government; if the priests keep aloof these meetings will be scenes of disorder; if the priests attend they will keep the people attached to them." MacEvilly then went on to caution Kirby about any interference with the agitation on the part of Rome. "It would render the H. See," he warned, "very odious to seem to be influenced by the English against those who sacrificed everything for the Faith, and when the *general evictions* come, as come they will, in some districts, it would ruin us, if the [Roman] authorities could be quoted as against our people." "*Religion in this country*," he prophesied solemnly in conclusion, "*would never get over it.*"⁴¹

While the majority of the bishops, like MacEvilly, continued to refuse to have anything personally to do with the league, though they allowed their priests to participate, their position in the next three years was slowly eroded. Their confidence both in the British government and in Rome was undermined by the ineptness of the former in dealing with Irish discontent through coercion and the efforts of the latter to establish diplomatic relations with the British government against the unanimous and formal advice of the Irish bishops as a body. At the same time, Parnell was astutely courting the more conservative of the clergy by playing down his former role of agrarian agitator and building up his new image of a politician firmly committed to constitutional methods and devoted to denominational education.⁴² By the summer of 1884, therefore, the bishops as a body were finally ready to come to terms with Parnell and his party. At their annual general meeting at Maynooth in October, besides the usual string of resolutions on the education question, the bishops also resolved "that we call upon the Irish parliamentary party to bring the above resolutions under the notice of the House of Commons, and to urge generally upon the government the hitherto unsatisfied claims of Catholic Ireland in all branches of the

⁴¹ John MacEvilly to Kirby, Dec. 11, 1879, Kirby Papers.

⁴² Michael V. Hazel, "Charles Stewart Parnell and the Creation of the Modern Irish State, 1874-1886" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1974), 285-89.

educational question.”⁴³ Why the bishops resolved as they did was explained some weeks later by MacEvilly to Kirby. “Some parties,” MacEvilly noted on October 26, “affect to be scandalized at the Irish Bishops at the Synod placing the Education question in the hands of the Irish Party. But the fact is, many of the Bishops, who, like myself, never joined the Irish Party, feel that there is no other possible way of gaining our rights from a government that will give Catholics nothing from love.”⁴⁴

The result of this move on the part of the bishops was the making of a very effective, if informal, clerical-nationalist alliance. The fact that the alliance was based on an understanding rather than on a formal agreement certainly obscures its terms though it does not make them any less real. As far as the bishops were concerned, they understood they had an explicit undertaking on the part of the party, that the initiative with regard to the education question on all its levels would rest with them. On the other hand, the party was implicitly assured in the bishops’ formal request for its support on the education question that all doubts were now removed—about either the party’s constitutional character or its aims with regard to achieving Home Rule and the settlement of the land question, and that, therefore, those bishops and priests who were inclined to commit themselves to the party and its program were completely free to do so. What Home Rule meant specifically or what might be a satisfactory settlement of the land question was, in fact, only worked out pragmatically in the next few years. By the fall of 1886, however, the bishops had defined their position both with regard to the party and its program. They had not only endorsed the party’s lead on the question of Home Rule and approved the system of purchase as a final solution to the land question, but they had also established their individual right to be consulted as to the suitability of the parliamentary candidates selected by convention within their spiritual jurisdiction as well as spelling out specifically their clergy’s role as clergy in the approval of those candidates in convention.

By 1886, then, the British state had lost the great game it had played for so many centuries in Ireland. An Irish state had not only been created in the minds of most Irishmen, but the national and local political apparatus necessary to the functioning of that state was operative. The apparatus, moreover, was entirely in the hands of Parnell and his party. When Gladstone proceeded to give those executive, legislative, and judicial functions form in the first Home Rule Bill, final notice was given that the ratification of the substance of that state by the British Parliament was really only a matter of time. After 1886, therefore, to talk about a solution to the Irish question, other than self-government, was not to face up to the realities of Irish political life. The crucial point to be made here, however, is that the Irish state could not have been made stable before 1886 if the Irish

⁴³ Quoted in *Freeman’s Journal* (Dublin), Oct. 2, 1884.

⁴⁴ MacEvilly to Kirby, Oct. 26, 1884, Kirby Papers.

clergy had not been accommodated. If the Irish clergy, moreover, had not accepted the accommodation when it did, the character of the Irish state would have been a great deal different from what it eventually became.

In early accepting its place in the Irish state, the Church, for example, prevented that state from being eventually turned into the worst kind of autocracy by either the leader or the party. In the development of a concept of leader, a one-party system, a mass machine organization, a controlled press, and a single-plank national program, Ireland was certainly not unique among those nations struggling to become states in the modern world. In Ireland, however, because the revolution in the making of the state was constitutional rather than violent, the politics of dissent gave way to the politics of consensus rather than to the tyranny of the general will. What later saved the Irish state, both during and after the fall and death of Parnell, from the tyranny of either the leader, the party, or even the majority was that in the last analysis the bishops had enough real power and influence in the country to resist effectively any attempt by either the party or the leader to impose their will unilaterally on the others in the consensus. What really evolved, then, in the making of the Irish state was a unique constitutional balance that became basic to the functioning of the Irish political system.

BUT WHAT OF THE NEEDS of the nation in the aftermath of the making and the consolidating of the *de facto* Irish state by Parnell? By 1914 that nation-forming class, those Catholic tenant farmers holding more than thirty acres, were virtually all in the process of becoming owners of their holdings under the recent and various land purchase acts. Their new status, moreover, was reinforced and cushioned by the establishment at the same time of a buffer class of nearly three hundred thousand smaller farmers, holding between five and thirty acres, who were also becoming, however marginal and vulnerable, new property owners through the system of purchase.⁴⁵ The Church, furthermore, by 1914 had also achieved its heart's desire. With the establishment of the National University in 1908 the Church had finally achieved effective control on all levels of what was now really a system of denominational education financed by the state.⁴⁶ Indeed, the clerical-nationalist alliance had paid handsome dividends as far as the larger tenant farmers and the clergy were concerned.

Soon after the death of Parnell, however, and in the decade of the 1890s, there began to emerge in piecemeal fashion a growing number of small, diverse, and articulate groups who began to argue that the deeper needs of the nation were not being met by the dominant political consensus. In cumulative fashion they insisted, and more intensely after 1900, that the

⁴⁵ Edwards, *Atlas of Irish History*, 171–73.

⁴⁶ David W. Miller, *Church, State and Nation in Ireland, 1898–1921* (Pittsburgh, 1973).

real task was nation building and that it could only be accomplished by the nation recovering its primeval identity, which was still rooted in what was left of its ancient Gaelic cultural heritage. What actually took place, then, was a revival of cultural nationalism generally described as the Irish-Ireland movement. In an incredible burst of national energy the Gaelic League, the Gaelic Athletic Association, the Irish Labour Movement, the Irish Agricultural Organizational Society, the Abbey Theatre, the All for Ireland League, Sinn Fein, the Independent Orange Order, the Ancient Order of Hibernians, the Socialist party of Ireland, and a host of others, all vied with each other in their efforts to make Ireland more conscious of its being Irish. Though the various groups represented a wide spectrum of the nation's interests, and often sneered at and quarreled with each other, they were all certainly one in espousing at least the need to revive the Irish language and to recover their lost cultural inheritance.⁴⁷

What has been less obvious than the cultural nationalism of the Irish-Ireland movement is that it bears true witness to the reality of the *de facto* state established by Parnell. It has hardly been noticed, for example, that the various dissenting groups, which made up the heterogeneous movement, were actually a newly emerged opposition, and like all such oppositions in a one-party system, they were forced to legitimize themselves by claiming to represent a higher patriotism and a more wholesome national ideal than did the prevailing consensus of leader, party, and bishops. Thus their cultural nationalism, though abstractly sincere, served as a very useful cover in securing for them that ideological toleration so necessary to their political survival. That is why Sinn Fein was able to emerge eventually as the successor to the party and why Eamon de Valera succeeded John Redmond as leader. For within the framework of the consensus that was basic to the *de facto* Irish state, Sinn Fein evolved what was really the only viable alternative constitutional policy.⁴⁸ Sinn Fein argued that instead of having the Irish state made as legal as it was then real through the medium of the Liberal-Nationalist alliance in the House of Commons, the Irish representatives should withdraw from Westminster, set up a parliament in Dublin, and unilaterally declare the *de facto* state *de jure*. In presenting its policy of abstention, however, Sinn Fein was not simply offering the nation an alternative to the policy of the party. It was arguing that abstention was the only viable means for achieving the nation's end—a legally established state. The party's policy, Sinn Fein further argued, was in effect bankrupt, and the party must not merely give way, but it must give up. In a word, in what was essentially a one-party system, there was no room for another party or alternative leaders or policies. The task of Sinn Fein, therefore, was to win the nation's mandate, destroy the party, and thereby take its legitimate place in the consensus.

Before the Church consented, however, to the transfer of power, the

⁴⁷ Lyons, *Ireland since the Famine*, 219–42.

⁴⁸ Robert Kee, *The Green Flag: A History of Irish Nationalism* (London, 1972), 450–51.

bishops had to be convinced that Sinn Fein and its leader respected the bishops' place in the consensus and would come to terms with what was, in effect, the Irish political system rather than attempt to restructure it. The political conversion of the bishops as a body was a slow and painful process, and this explains both why the triumph of Sinn Fein was so long in coming and why it was so complete when it finally came.⁴⁹ Though a significant number of the bishops over the years had become disenchanted with the party for various reasons, the vast majority in early 1917 still supported the party, especially if the alternative was Sinn Fein. When in the spring of 1917, Lloyd George, for example, approved the calling of a convention, representing all shades of Irish political opinion, to recommend to his government a solution to the problem of self-government based on a "substantial agreement," the bishops as a body agreed to participate and named four representatives. The dilemma faced not only by those individual bishops disenchanted with the party, but by even those who had become outspoken supporters of Sinn Fein policy, was best expressed by the bishop of Limerick, Edward Thomas O'Dwyer, when writing Michael O'Riordan, the rector of the Irish College in Rome. "At our meeting this week," O'Dwyer reported on June 22, 1917, "we nominated 4 bishops for Convention: Cashel, Ross, Raphoe, and Down and Connor, all staunch 'Party' men." "I agreed on the ground," he added, explaining his difficulty, "that, if we refused, the Gov't. might drop the whole thing, and then say that the Cath. bishops killed H. Rule." "It is a pity," he lamented, "that as a body we are not more independent."⁵⁰

The bishops as a body, in fact, continued to support the party under

⁴⁹ The various groups that made up the Irish-Ireland movement, it is interesting to note, were not only contemptuous of the party and its leader, but most of them also ran into difficulties with the clergy, high and low. The Gaelic League, in particular, had problems with the clergy. See Martin Waters, "Peasants and Emigrants: Considerations of the Gaelic League as a Social Movement," an unpublished paper, which gives a good account of the problems of the League with some of the local clergy. See also W. P. Ryan, *The Pope's Green Island* (London, 1912). Ryan, a prominent Gaelic Leaguer and Irish-Ireland enthusiast, and his newspaper, the *Irish Peasant*, were anathematized by Michael Cardinal Logue, archbishop of Armagh. Ryan attempted to carry on, but the paper eventually collapsed and Ryan emigrated for a second time to London. The Irish labor movement also had its difficulties with the clergy. See Emmet Larkin, "Socialism and Catholicism in Ireland," *Church History*, 33 (1964): 462-83. The All for Ireland League, the Irish Agricultural Organization Society, the Gaelic Athletic Association, all had their contretemps with the clergy. Still, not one of these organizations may be described as anticlerical. What they actually wanted was room to challenge the political consensus. Since the Church was integral to that consensus, it was inevitable that they would quarrel with the clergy as they had with the leader and the party. There was in the period between 1900 and 1914, moreover, a large increase in the volume of literature criticizing the role of the Church in Irish society. The best examples of this kind of literature are the works of Michael J. McCarthy, which, if they prove nothing else, at least indicate there was a market for such work. See his *Five Years in Ireland, 1895-1900* (Dublin, 1901), *Priests and People in Ireland* (Dublin, 1903), and *Rome in Ireland* (London, 1904). A complete bibliography of such literature is of course impossible here, but some of the more prominent examples may be easily cited. Besides Ryan's *Pope's Green Island*, there are also F. H. O'Donnell's *The Ruin of Education in Ireland* (London, 1902) and *Paraguay on Shannon* (London, 1908). See also Filson Young, *Ireland at the Crossroads* (Dublin, 1906), R. J. Smith, *Ireland's Renaissance* (Dublin, 1903), and the novels of Gerald O'Donovan, in particular *Father Ralph* (London, 1913).

⁵⁰ Edward Thomas O'Dwyer to Michael O'Riordan, June 22, 1917, O'Riordan Papers.

the terms of the clerical-nationalist alliance until there was indeed no hope left for the party. Even in the face of a series of successive disasters for it in the first half of 1918—the failure of the convention, the death of John Redmond, the destruction of the Liberal-Nationalist alliance through the attempt to enforce conscription in Ireland, and the wholesale arrests of the Sinn Fein leadership on the flimsiest charges of a treasonous pro-German conspiracy—the bishops as a body still held on to their alliance with the party. As late as November the champion of the party among the bishops for nearly twenty years, Patrick O'Donnell, the bishop of Raphoe, was still prepared to sink or swim with it. "Sinn Fein," he complained to O'Riordan in Rome on November 24, 1918, "has placed Ireland under the feet of Prussianism and yet, because of the executions following Easter Week the duplicity of the Government and the mistakes of the Irish Party, it is quite likely that Sinn Fein will sweep the country at the general elections." "Good men think they are having," he added, "a fling at England when they claim a Republic and say they will not go next or near her Parliament." "They will see soon but too late," O'Donnell noted very perceptively, "that abstention leads inevitably to partition." "They will also see," he further explained, "that whatever our rights the claim now for a Republic can be used everywhere as reason for not granting autonomy, in-as-much as autonomy is not asked and the concession of it to those who go for a Republic would be playing into the hands of men bent on disturbing the peace of the world." "These are the dangers," he concluded, "in allowing Sinn Fein a walk over at the elections."⁵¹

Less than two weeks later, however, even O'Donnell's political will had been sapped, and he wrote John Dillon, who had succeeded Redmond as leader, asking him to allow Sinn Fein the "walk over" he had deplored to O'Riordan. Dillon refused and courageously replied that duty and honor required no surrender.⁵² The day after the election, when it was apparent to all that Sinn Fein had swept the country, O'Donnell again wrote O'Riordan in Rome. "There is," he sadly explained on December 16, 1918, "no increase of freedom that I would not desire for Ireland. It is only a question of the means." "May God bless the new leaders," O'Donnell added, accepting the new order, "who at a critical time take up a heavy load of responsibility." "The priests," he then reported, and referring to his clergy's part in the South and West Donegal elections, "acted splendidly. Beyond the public expression of my views, I did not interfere. The priests were free as far as I was concerned. But they either supported the Party or kept silent in public."⁵³ Another of those "staunch" supporters of the party at the convention in 1917 also wrote O'Riordan shortly after the election. "The Sinn Feiners," Joseph McRory, the bishop of Down and Connor, wrote

⁵¹ Patrick O'Donnell to O'Riordan, Nov. 24, 1918, *ibid.*

⁵² Quoted in the correspondence between O'Donnell and John Dillon in F. S. L. Lyons, *John Dillon* (London, 1968), 449–51.

⁵³ O'Donnell to O'Riordan, Dec. 16, 1918, O'Riordan Papers.

from Belfast, "as you know, have swept the country." "It is a marvelous triumph for *Sinn Fein*," McRory then noted, "but the country is thoroughly and intelligibly tired of the Party." "It was time," he added for good measure, "to put an end to it."⁵⁴

What made it easier for the great majority of the bishops who had previously supported the party to acquiesce in the *Sinn Fein* triumph was that they had become convinced, however slowly, that the new party and its leader posed no real threat to their power or their influence. The bishop of Killaloe, Michael Fogarty, for example, had written O'Riordan shortly after the Easter Rising and made what indeed would be in time the crucial distinction for all the bishops. "There are," Fogarty explained on June 16, 1916, "*Sinn Fein*, & *Sinn Fein*—those on for rebellion, those short of that in pursuit of Irish ideals, religion, moral social etc. The former were few, the great body belonged to the latter class." "Practically all Irish Ireland," he added, "has gone over since the rebellion to this latter class." "That is," Fogarty explained further, "they don't want rebellion, but the brutal shooting and deportation of these young insurgents after surrender has filled the country with indignation and roused such an anti-English feeling as I never saw before!"⁵⁵ When more than two years later *Sinn Fein* destroyed the party in the general election, the great majority of the bishops, whatever they believed about the wisdom of *Sinn Fein*'s policy of abstention, had apparently come to the same conclusion as the bishop of Killaloe concerning the religious and moral probity of the members and adherents of the new party.

Shortly after the elections O'Riordan, in order obviously to forestall any effort on the part of the British government to secure a Roman condemnation of *Sinn Fein*, shrewdly canvassed the opinions of a large number of the Irish bishops as to the soundness of the new party. The bishops who replied were all obviously of one mind. "The *Sinn Feiners* of my diocese," the bishop of Galway, Thomas O'Dea, reassured O'Riordan on March 9, 1919, "are the very reverse of anti-clerical or anti-religious. As a body they are ardent Catholics. Many of them I know intimately & from my own knowledge can bear this testimony of them."⁵⁶ Even among those bishops who had opposed them in the general election, *Sinn Fein* found those who would bear witness. "The *Sinn Feiners*," the bishop of Ferns, William Codd, assured O'Riordan from Wexford on March 16, "are not different from the rest of the people as Catholics. They are quite good and practical Catholics. They are not anti-clerical, they have many clerical adherents with us. And nothing could be said against them, lay or clerical, as regards temperance."⁵⁷

But of all the bishops who replied, the bishop of Kildare and Leighlin,

⁵⁴ O'Donnell to O'Riordan, Nov. 26, 1918, *ibid.*

⁵⁵ Michael Fogarty to O'Riordan, June 16, 1916, *ibid.*

⁵⁶ Thomas O'Dea to O'Riordan, Mar. 9, 1919, *ibid.*

⁵⁷ William Codd to O'Riordan, Mar. 16, 1919, *ibid.*

Patrick Foley, perhaps best summed it all up in a long, interesting, and perceptive letter. "As to your query respecting the young men of my Diocese, who belong to the Sinn Fein," Foley explained to O'Riordan on March 21, 1919, from Carlow, "I can say without the slightest hesitation that as a body they are most exemplary in attending to their religious duties and living good, Christian lives." "From conversations which I frequently had with them here," he reported, "I am satisfied that they are quite willing to accept the teaching of the Church, even when it may not be quite in harmony with some of their views for instance the lawfulness of the Easter Rising for the success of which there was no hope whatever."

But, while stating this, I think it only right to add that the Anti-Conscription movement was the occasion of a most impressive religious movement in all parts of the country: all classes, young and old, rich & poor, no matter [the] brand of politics they favoured crowded the churches day after day and week after week, and displayed the most marvelous fervour in prayer, reception of the Sacraments, assisting at Mass etc. that had ever occurred in the country. No mission that was ever held so profoundly affected the lives of the whole Catholic people, and the Sinn Feiners were second to no others.

There has been an outbreak of crime here and there within the past few months. In my own Diocese, the raids for arms were few, and there was no outrage connected with them; but we have had incendiarism in four or five cases—a crime which had been utterly unheard of up to a few months ago, and which I believe is not yet at an end. It is only the extreme wing of the Sinn Fein movement from whom any such real danger is likely to arise. The remnant of the Citizen Army in Dublin has become very active, and although it has not yet got the upper hand, it is causing great trouble to the moderate men among the Sinn Fein leaders.⁵⁸

Foley then went on to explain that there was a great disappointment among the Sinn Fein rank and file in President Wilson, who they hoped would favor Ireland's right to self-determination at the peace conference. Foley expected that the disappointment would lead to further trouble from the extreme elements, and for that reason he wished that de Valera, who had gone to the United States the previous summer, would return and take "supreme charge of the whole movement." "He made," Foley confessed of de Valera, "a great impression on me at Maynooth last April when I had a talk with him as well as the advantage of hearing what he said at the Conference with the Bishops."

He did not say much; he is not an orator, and never will be, but he impressed me very deeply with the great sense of responsibility which he evidently felt attached to his position in the tremendous crisis which existed at the time. He is transparently honest, sincere, and courageous; but he has a very big burden to bear and his position needs a man of very great parts.

⁵⁸ Patrick Foley to O'Riordan, Mar. 21, 1919, *ibid.*

"I need hardly say," Foley further confessed, "I have no hope whatever of seeing an 'independent Republic' established." "If we could get," he added hopefully, "full control of all taxation, of customs, excise and relief from the intolerable burden of war taxation it would be as much as could be hoped for from the present govt." "The Tory elements which predominate," Foley finally prophesied in conclusion, "would not haggle as much over this as the radical cabinet elements but they will not compel the N.East corner."⁵⁹

When the British government objected, however, to Sinn Fein unilaterally declaring the Irish state to be as legal as it was then real, Sinn Fein in the name of the new national consensus declared itself ready to submit the question to the arbitrament of force. The result of that submission was the emergence of an Irish Free State in 1921. When the Sinn Fein party then split on the question of whether the Irish state was to be a republic or a dominion, the Church threw the weight of its power and influence to the side of the constitutional majority. In doing so the Church was simply fulfilling the obligations it had contracted in 1884 when the Irish state was being born. As long as the party in the state fulfilled its part of the agreement and was the legitimate party sanctioned by the nation, the Church could in fact do no less. That is why in the ensuing civil war among the Sinn Fein guardians, the bishops in a joint pastoral in early October 1922 formally declared against Eamon de Valera and his republicans.⁶⁰ They did so not because de Valera or his followers posed any real threat to their own power and influence, but because he, like Parnell thirty years before, no longer retained the confidence of the majority of the party and was, therefore, no longer the legitimate leader. De Valera's further attempt to assert his leadership and to claim legitimacy for the minority of the party in the system of consensus was then resisted by the bishops as being patently unconstitutional. When he, however, succeeded to power in 1932, the bishops could consistently welcome him and his new Fianna Fail party—as indeed they had accepted John Redmond and the reunited Irish party ten years after the fall of Parnell—as the legitimate guardians because he and his new party were constitutionally endorsed by a majority and still posed no threat to the Church's place in the state. De Valera, in fact, went so far as to make that informal concordat of 1884 more explicit in the constitution he drew up for the Irish state and had ratified by the nation in 1937.

THE ASCENDANCY OF EAMON DE VALERA and his Fianna Fail party for some thirty years after 1932 is simply a conclusive testimony to the uniqueness and durability of the political system conceived by O'Connell and con-

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ Dorothy McArdle, *The Irish Republic* (Dublin, 1951), 701, 804.

solidated by Parnell. De Valera's own political greatness certainly owes much to his understanding of the dynamics of this system of politics by consensus. He was not only the leader and Fianna Fail the party, but he has also always been scrupulously correct about the prerogatives of the bishops as a body in the consensus. Implicit in the Parnellite concordat with the bishops was a constitutional division of labor or responsibility. The leader and the party retained the rights of initiative and determination with regard to the Home Rule and land questions, while the bishops retained control over education. By 1910 the land and education questions had been settled, and when the Irish Free State was finally ratified by treaty in 1921, the last of the specific objectives of the Parnellite program was achieved. By 1921, therefore, where the rights of initiative and determination with regard to national policy lay became somewhat more subjective.

The constitutional division of labor, however, which was still basic to the consensus, remained real. In the new Free State the old objectives represented by Home Rule and the land question were broadened to include all that was essentially political and economic, while the Church expanded its acknowledged prerogative in education into other social areas. The justification for such an extension of power and influence on the part of the Church, of course, was rooted in its claim that it was responsible for the moral well-being of the nation. Moreover, the governments of Liam Cosgrave before 1932 and afterward of de Valera freely acknowledged that it was the duty of the state to help maintain traditional Catholic teaching and values. If Cosgrave, for example, refused to legalize divorce or to allow the dissemination of birth control information and censored films and books, de Valera made divorce unconstitutional, banned the import or sale of contraceptive devices, and regulated dance halls, besides incorporating Catholic teaching on the family, education, and private property in the 1937 constitution.⁶¹

On the other hand, de Valera has demonstrated time and again that he understands the limits of the bishops' rights within the consensus. He has been most careful in maintaining both his and his party's authority when challenged either individually or collectively by the bishops. When there was some individual criticism by bishops of his policy of "economic war" with Britain in the early 1930s, he studiously and rightly ignored them. He refused, moreover, despite considerable Catholic pressure, either to outlaw the Communist party or to recognize the Franco regime in Spain. During the Second World War his government actually censored an episcopal pastoral because it conflicted with the stated official policy of neutrality. More important than all these, however, was his and his party's refusal in the 1940s to implement what amounted to Catholic proposals for the vocational organization of the state and a basic overhaul of social

⁶¹ John H. Whyte, *Church and State in Modern Ireland, 1923-1970* (Dublin, 1971), 24-59.

services.⁶² The resistance to such proposals by de Valera and his party was rooted in the concept of "ministerial responsibility." This was to say that if the state were basically reorganized or the social services fundamentally reformed, the rights of initiative and determination with regard to such measures would remain with the leader and the party and not with the bishops. An important limit was thus set on the rights of the bishops in expanding their power and influence in the social area. Finally, de Valera's real political astuteness with regard to the rights of the bishops within the consensus was demonstrated once again in the early 1950s by his delicate handling of the controversial maternal and child welfare, or "mother and child," scheme. His timely private intervention prevented the bishops from making fools of themselves publicly and thus diluting, if not actually jeopardizing, their own power and influence within the consensus.⁶³ De Valera's real achievement in Church-state relations, however, cannot be fully appreciated if it is not understood that while he has done much to make the Irish state more confessional, he has also prevented it from becoming any more clerical.

The foundations for that confessional state were laid, of course, by Daniel O'Connell. In setting up the fundamental alliance between Church and nation in his attempt to create an Irish state, O'Connell, though unsuccessful, structured a political frame that has constrained all his successors in Irish politics. In joining Church to nation he not only made their future both more certain and secure, but more sane, for he provided thereby for the effective containment of the most violent aspects of the nation's personality as represented by the Young Ireland, Fenian, and republican Sinn Fein tradition. The price he paid for that containment was the integration of the Church in an inextricable way into the pattern of constitutional politics. What O'Connell did not foresee, and what he could not have known, was that the Church in the generation after his death was going to build itself socially and economically into the very vitals of the nation until it became virtually at one with the nation's identity and an essential part of its consciousness. The result, of course, was to make the state, when it finally emerged under Parnell, much more exclusively Catholic.

By providing the nation with its shield and defense in the Irish state, furthermore, Parnell assured the nation that the issue was no longer survival but fulfillment. Like O'Connell, however, Parnell was also a supreme realist in that by imaginatively taking up the material at hand he did not attempt to make of that material more than was possible. He understood, for example, that since the emerging state was essentially Catholic, the Church would have to be accommodated if that state was ever to become a functioning political reality. Though he realized it was possible to coerce the Church

⁶² *Ibid.*, 96-119.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 288-90.

through the Catholic tenant farmers qua nation, his real genius lay in his further understanding that the effectiveness of that tactic must decline with its use. His strategy, therefore, was to court the Church constitutionally and eventually come to terms with her in an informal but effective concordat. The price Parnell paid in turn for the accommodation of the Church, of course, was to make his *de facto* Irish state essentially a confessional one. Finally, it was left to de Valera to make that state as formally confessional as it has been informally so since 1886.

The ability to distinguish between a confessional and a clerical state, then, is necessary to any understanding of the nature and extent of the power and influence of the Church in modern Ireland. The nature and extent of the power of the Church are really a function of its acknowledged rights and prerogatives within the political consensus, while the nature and extent of its influence are certainly dependent on the confessional character of the state. In other words, because the power of the Church is constitutionally limited and the influence of the Church is constrained by traditional political values that are as deeply rooted in the historical memory as the traditional Catholic values, Ireland is not a clerical state. This confessional rather than clerical character of the Irish state explains why the Church has never been faced with a serious anticlerical movement. Fenians, Parnellites, and Republicans, for example, have all complained that the Church was exceeding the limits of its legitimate power and influence in condemning them, but they have never dared to go so far as to maintain the Church had no claim to power and influence in Ireland. They did not go that far because they could not, and they could not because the Church had so integrated itself psychologically, functionally, and historically into the Irish way of life that it became virtually at one with the nation's identity. In the last analysis, then, the considerable power and influence of the Church in Ireland have remained real because the Church has never attempted to turn what has been a confessional state for nearly a hundred years into a clerical one and has loyally accepted its unique constitutional place in that state.

Roosevelt, Churchill, and Indochina: 1942-45

WALTER LA FEBER

RECENT STUDIES HAVE CONCLUDED that perhaps Indochina's post-1945 history would have been happier had Harry S. Truman not reversed Franklin D. Roosevelt's plan of replacing French colonial rule with a United Nations trusteeship.¹ It now seems clear, however, that Roosevelt, not Truman, discarded the trusteeship plan and allowed the French to return to Indochina. The significance of Roosevelt's policy reversal, moreover, was not limited to Indochinese affairs. FDR had envisioned using his trusteeship approach to undermine the British as well as the French empire.² American power, allied with Chiang Kai-shek's China, would then replace the Europeans as the stabilizing force in Asia. Indeed, the president's plan for Indochina depended ultimately on Chiang's cooperation, not the last time in American diplomacy that Southeast Asia would be viewed within the larger context of Sino-American relations. When Chiang openly defied the president in mid-1944 over military and political issues, Prime Minister Winston Churchill seized the opportunity to restore Anglo-French power in Southeast Asia. Roosevelt slowly retreated from his trusteeship plan. With the president's permission the French began to return to Indochina. In this as in other foreign affairs, Truman's policies formed a continuum, not a break, with Roosevelt's.³

An earlier version of this paper was delivered as the Commonwealth Lecture at University College London in January 1973.

¹ The most recent and important accounts are Gary R. Hess, "Franklin Roosevelt and Indochina," *Journal of American History*, 59 (1972): 353-68; Peter A. Poole, *The United States and Indochina: From FDR to Nixon* (Hinsdale, Ill., 1973), 10-11; E. R. Drachman, *United States Policy toward Vietnam, 1940-1945* (Rutherford, N.J., 1970); Chester L. Cooper, *The Lost Crusade: America in Vietnam* (New York, 1970), 38-39; U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Armed Services, *United States-Vietnam Relations 1945-1967: Study Prepared by the Department of Defense* (Washington, 1971), bks. 1, 7; J. William Fulbright, *The Crippled Giant: American Foreign Policy and Its Domestic Consequences* (New York, 1972), 64; Russell H. Fifield, *Americans in Southeast Asia* (New York, 1973), 36-43.

² A good introduction to Roosevelt's anticolonial view is Willard Range, *Franklin D. Roosevelt's World Order* (Athens, Ga., 1959), 102-19, although questions must now be raised about Range's handling of several specific points, including the Indochina issue and the concept of self-determination.

³ The most comprehensive accounts of the crucial debate over whether Truman carried on or broke with Roosevelt's policies are Gar Alperovitz, *Atomic Diplomacy* (New York, 1965), which

THROUGHOUT THE SECOND WORLD WAR Roosevelt and Cordell Hull, the secretary of state, understood the vital importance of Indochina for American interests. On July 24, 1941, Hull warned that Japan must not be allowed to remain in the area. The occupation of Indochina "means one further important step in seizing control of the South Sea area, including trading routes of supreme importance to the United States controlling such products as rubber, tin and other commodities." During the decisive summer and fall of 1944, the secretary of state informed Roosevelt that Indochina and the rest of Southeast Asia

are sources of products essential to both our wartime and peacetime economy. They are potentially markets for American exports. They lie athwart the south-western approaches to the Pacific Ocean and have important bearing on our security and the security of the Philippines. Their economic and political stability will be an important factor in the maintenance of peace in Asia.⁴

Japan's decision to change the status quo in Southeast Asia by invading Indochina was perhaps the crucial factor that caused war between the United States and Japan.⁵

In August 1941 the Japanese completed negotiations with the Vichy French government controlling Indochina. Japan obtained rights to the military bases and economic resources while the Vichy French, reduced to a puppet regime, administered the area. Roosevelt was deeply angered at the deal, but throughout 1941-42 the United States announced on at least seven occasions that, in the words of a declaration of November 1942, "French sovereignty will be re-established as soon as possible throughout all the territory, metropolitan or colonial, over which flew the French flag in 1939."⁶ Such assurances were perhaps required if the Vichyites were to cooperate with the Allied landings in North Africa during late 1942. Once the invasion succeeded, however, FDR sharply reversed his policy.

Roosevelt's new approach rested on assumptions that revealed his global as well as his Indochinese strategy. The president was convinced that after the war France would not be a stabilizing force in either Asia or Europe. The French, he believed, would have to go through a revolution before their political system could become workable.⁷ These doubts grew as Charles de Gaulle replaced the president's favorite, General Henri Giraud,

stresses a decisive break, and Gabriel Kolko, *The Politics of War: The World and United States Foreign Policy, 1943-1945* (New York, 1968), which emphasizes continuity.

⁴ For the statement of 1941, see House, *U.S.-Vietnam Relations*, bk. 7, B4; for the memorandum of 1944, *Foreign Relations of the United States* (hereafter *FRUS*), *The Conference at Quebec, 1944* (Washington, 1972), 261-63.

⁵ Akira Iriye, *The Cold War in Asia: A Historical Introduction* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1974), 58. Throughout the war the United States carried on a steady and effective bombing campaign in Indochina. See "The Situation in Indochina," Public Record Office (hereafter *PRO*), London, FO 371 F5987/66/61.

⁶ *The Senator Gravel Edition, The Pentagon Papers: The Defense Department History of United States Decision-Making on Vietnam* [ed. Mike Gravel] (Boston, 1971), 1: 9.

⁷ William D. Hassett, *Off the Record with F.D.R., 1942-1945* (New Brunswick, 1958), 166.

as leader of the Free French movement. To FDR's mind de Gaulle was too close to Churchill, too impervious to American wishes, and too egocentric and intelligent to be manipulated. For his part, the French leader was bitterly resentful that France had no role to play in Roosevelt's postwar strategy. After a talk with the president in mid-1944, de Gaulle believed that Roosevelt wanted a "four-power directory—America, Soviet Russia, China and Great Britain" to run the world; since China and Great Britain would require American aid, the president could use them to "contain [Russian] ambitions" while the United States developed the "new sovereignties in Africa, Asia and Australasia." In that scheme there was no place for a French empire.⁸ Despite de Gaulle's biases, this evaluation may well be the best contemporary outline of Roosevelt's postwar plans.

Eradicating the French empire was part of a larger Rooseveltian program to eliminate most colonial holdings, including those of Great Britain. The United States had tried to weaken British rule and gain postwar American access to the colonial and Dominion areas at the Atlantic Conference of August 1941, but a compromise had to be devised when Churchill refused to be cornered. After further struggles over the question in 1942, and after the prime minister named Oliver Stanley as minister of state for colonies (a man described by Undersecretary of State Sumner Welles as the "most narrow, bigoted, reactionary Tory" he had ever met), Roosevelt went so far as to say privately, "We shall have more trouble with Great Britain after the war than we are having with Germany now."⁹

In March 1943 the president told the British foreign secretary, Anthony Eden, that not all colonies in the Far East should be returned to the colonial powers after Japan was defeated. He presented Eden with a trusteeship formula that would raise the colonies to independence through several stages. Those not ready for independence would be placed under an international trusteeship formed by the United Nations. Roosevelt specifically mentioned Indochina as an area that should be controlled by this new system. Eden stalled, then in August rejected the proposal.¹⁰

As early as June 1940 Churchill had publicly stated that "the aim of Great Britain is the complete restoration of French territory, colonial and metropolitan."¹¹ By 1943 the danger lurked that if the president succeeded in dismantling French colonial holdings the British colonies would be next.

⁸ Charles de Gaulle, *The Complete War Memoirs of Charles de Gaulle* (New York, 1967), 572–74. On the FDR–de Gaulle relationship an interesting study is Milton Viorst, *Hostile Allies: FDR and Charles de Gaulle* (New York, 1965).

⁹ "Resumé of a Number of Conversations with Sumner Welles," Nov. 30, 1942, Charles Taussig Papers, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library (hereafter FDRL), Hyde Park, N.Y., box 52. On Roosevelt's attempts to impose multilateralism on the British Empire at the Atlantic Conference and in the later lend-lease negotiations, see Richard N. Gardner, *Sterling-Dollar Diplomacy: The Origins and the Prospects of Our International Economic Order* (New York, 1969), 40–68, and Lloyd C. Gardner, *Economic Aspects of New Deal Diplomacy* (Madison, 1964), 170–93.

¹⁰ "Memorandum–Hopkins, Eden Visit," Mar. 27, 1943, Harry Hopkins Papers, FDRL, box 138, bk. 7; Drachman, *U.S. Policy*, 44–45.

¹¹ Churchill quoted in Drachman, *U.S. Policy*, 36.

In September 1943 British policy had an added dimension. A Foreign Office memorandum warned that the government must not cooperate with Roosevelt's French policy, for "it would be unwise to undermine the possibilities of close cooperation with a friendly France in Europe. . . . A France hostile to ourselves might well be able to supplement her own strength by diplomatic connexions of a traditional kind, e.g. a revival of the Franco-Czechoslovak-Soviet bloc." International control of French Indochina, moreover, would not "work satisfactorily. It would open the door wide to Chinese intrigues, and we should expect the Japanese to start fishing in the troubled waters at the first opportunity."¹² For the sake of British interests in both Europe and Asia, London officials felt they had no choice but to fight for a fully restored France.

The Anglo-American clash over France's future was a mirror image of another collision over the postwar role of China. Roosevelt viewed Chiang's government as fundamental in America's Pacific plans. When the president was asked in April 1943 what would replace Article X of the League of Nations Covenant as a means to maintain the postwar peace, he replied that "the policy of policing the world [is] not insurmountable." The United States and China "would police Asia," Africa would be stabilized by Great Britain and Brazil, and Europe by the British and Russians.¹³ Presiding over these regional arrangements, the president told Eden in March 1943, would be the big four of the United States, Russia, Great Britain, and China who would make "the real decisions." Eden demurred, arguing that China would be unstable after the war. But FDR, in Eden's words, "maintained that China was at least a potential world Power and anarchy in China would be so grave a misfortune that Chiang Kai-shek must be given the fullest support."¹⁴ The president believed "we should probably see in China, in the next 50 years, a development similar to that of Japan in the later years of the 19th century."¹⁵ He also felt that "China, in any serious conflict of policy with Russia, would undoubtedly line up on our side."¹⁶ Then Roosevelt revealed the other side of his plan. Since China would be so crucial, the British should give up Hong Kong as a gesture of "good will." The foreign secretary replied that he "had not heard the President suggest any similar gestures" from the American side.¹⁷

The British believed they fully understood Roosevelt's game: develop

¹² Memorandum by L. Foulds, Sept. 6, 1943, PRO, FO 371 F4646/4646/61.

¹³ Roosevelt quoted in Hassett, *Off the Record*, 166. To build China's image during the war, the United States surrendered its extraterritorial rights in China, encouraged Chiang's regime to repeal laws restricting emigration to the United States, and, in October 1943, maneuvered Russia and Great Britain into accepting China as one of the great powers in the Four-Power Declaration at Moscow.

¹⁴ Eden to prime minister, Mar. 17, 1943, PRO, FO 371 U1274/320/70.

¹⁵ FDR quoted in minute by William Strang, Mar. 29, 1943, PRO, FO 371 F1878/25/10.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*; see also "Memorandum-Hopkins, Eden Visit," Mar. 27, 1943, Hopkins Papers, box 138, bk. 7.

¹⁷ "Memorandum-Hopkins, Eden Visit," Mar. 29, 1943, Hopkins Papers, box 138, bk. 7.

a China strong enough to police Asia but weak enough to be dependent upon the United States. The president could then use China to help him stabilize Asia and open it to what the Atlantic Charter called "access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world." Neville Butler, head of the American Department in the Foreign Office, sarcastically minuted on the report of the Eden-FDR talks: "Madame Chiang is the greatest woman in the world, she and her husband are the most marvellous pair, and the Americans must on no account betray them (and their own commercial aspirations in China) at the Peace Conference Table."¹⁸ Churchill had been more direct the previous November: "I cannot regard the Chungking Government as representing a great world-power. Certainly there would be a faggot-vote on the side of the United States in any attempt to liquidate the British Overseas Empire."¹⁹ London officials nevertheless believed they had to make every effort to block American power in China. Only then would they have some leverage against possible Chinese incursions upon European colonial holdings. When Chiang asked for a large loan from London and Washington in December 1941, the United States offered \$500 million. The British were strapped by the war effort, but by early 1944 had stayed in the game with a £150 million loan. They meanwhile sent consultants, trained Chinese technicians in England, and formulated proposals for British capital investments, all in preparation for the postwar struggle over China.²⁰

But London was overmatched. In March 1942, Washington, despite British objections, included China in the American sphere of military operations "for political reasons." The United States systematically increased its economic leverage until even the Chinese Imperial Customs Service was headed for the first time by an American instead of a British citizen.²¹ Nor was Roosevelt above using personal attacks. Vice President Wallace told Chiang in June 1944 of FDR's comment that "the British did not consider China a great power," but the president did. Wallace then quoted Roosevelt as saying, "Churchill is old. A new British Government will give Hong Kong to China, and the next day China will make it a free port." Sir Eric

¹⁸ Butler minute on minute by Strang, Mar. 29, 1943, PRO, FO 371 F1878/25/10.

¹⁹ Churchill quoted in Cadogan, *The Diaries of Sir Alexander Cadogan, 1938-1945*, ed. David Dilks (New York, 1971), 488.

²⁰ E. L. Woodward, *British Foreign Policy in the Second World War* (London, 1962), 423; Far Eastern Economic Sub-Committee draft of economic policy, Jan. 9, 1945, War Cabinet Offices, PRO, FE (E) (45) FO 371 F233/149/61.

²¹ Memorandum by Chief of Far Eastern Affairs Division (Ballantine), *FRUS, 1943, China* (Washington, 1957), 2: 687-89, also see 863-64; Iriye, *Cold War in Asia*, 80. The British closely watched American attempts to penetrate China economically. In November 1943 the British embassy in Chungking reported the appearance of a new periodical, *International Economic Service*, which consisted entirely of a summary of current proposals, mostly from American sources, regarding postwar international economic reconstruction. The periodical was evidently managed by two "advisers," one of whom was Chinese and the other John King Fairbank, an adviser to the American embassy on propaganda and publicity; see Sir H. Prideaux-Brane to Foreign Office, Nov. 3, 1943, PRO, FO 371 F6249/102/10.

Teichman told the Foreign Office in October 1943: "Comparing China's foreign policy in 1943 with her attitude of ten years earlier, nothing is more striking than her dependence on America."²²

Washington officials tried to use this "dependence" to weaken the British and French hold on their colonial empires. Indeed, an examination of British and American records can lead to the speculation that the diplomats of each nation, with their eyes on postwar advantages, devoted more time to maneuvering against one another than to fighting the Japanese.²³ Through General Joseph Stilwell—Chiang's Chief of Staff in the China theater and commander of U.S. forces in the China-Burma-India theater—Roosevelt attempted to increase Chinese political and military activity in India and Burma.²⁴ In 1942 FDR scored a major success by bringing Indochina and Thailand within the Chinese theater. The Foreign Office drew the appropriate conclusion: British troops "would become operationally subordinate to Chiang and Stilwell the moment they set foot on Siamese or French Indochina territory," while Free French forces "could not enter Indochina except by Chiang Kai-shek's permission and under his supreme command." Since neither the Chinese nor Roosevelt wished French power restored in Indochina, "this may well become an explosive issue in Anglo-American relations with France in the not distant future."²⁵

Churchill tried to counter by rebuilding the British military power that had been shattered after the Burma front collapsed in 1942. Fighting off Roosevelt's demand that Stilwell control operations in Burma, the prime minister countered that a new command should be established to place Indochina under British authority. Roosevelt flatly refused. Churchill then settled for the establishment of a new Southeast Asia Command (SEAC) under the able, prestigious, and glamorous Admiral Lord Louis Mountbatten. This background explains why some angry American officials translated SEAC as "Save England's Asian Colonies." SEAC controlled British operations throughout Southeast Asia except in those two areas, Thailand and Indochina, that FDR had carefully set aside for Chiang and Stilwell.²⁶

The British, however, quickly tried to undercut Chinese-American predominance. In November 1943 Mountbatten obtained an agreement from

²² "Summary Notes of Conversations," *FRUS, 1944* (Washington, 1967), 6: 232; Teichman quoted in enclosure in Mr. Clauson to Ashley Clarke, Oct. 25, 1943, PRO, FO 371 F5611/74/10.

²³ Iriye has noted that the British War Cabinet's Far Eastern Committee devoted most of its attention in early 1945 to Southeast Asia: "Of the thirty-four memoranda drafted by the committee between January and July 1945, eighteen of them directly concerned the region." *Cold War in Asia*, 128.

²⁴ FDR to Admiral Brown, enclosure, Dec. 4, 1944, Naval Aide, China, FDRL, Map Room (hereafter FDR to Admiral Brown, Dec. 4, 1944, FDRL); War Office (Com:), June 18, 1943, and minutes thereon, PRO, FO 371 F3300/25/10.

²⁵ Foreign Office Research Department memorandum, Mr. Hudson, Aug. 21, 1943, PRO, FO 371 F4432/4022/23.

²⁶ Synopsis of telegram, Churchill to Roosevelt, Mar. 17, 1942, Hopkins Papers, box 138, bk. 7; John Ehrman, *Grand Strategy*, vol. 5: *August 1943–September 1944* (London, 1956), 139–44; Roosevelt to Churchill, July 9, 1943, Roosevelt-Churchill Correspondence, FDRL, Map Room.

Chiang that when the time arrived for invading Thailand and Indochina, Chinese troops would move from the north and SEAC's forces from the south. The boundaries between Chiang's and Mountbatten's theaters would be decided by the progress made by the respective forces. But no understanding could be reached on the critical issue of which theater would be primarily responsible for preinvasion political activities.²⁷ Roosevelt and the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff apparently had no strong objections to the agreement, nor perhaps should they have since it seemed at that point that if the race for Indochina were to be won by the strongest, Chiang, supported by American power, would win.

When Roosevelt and Chiang discussed Indochina at the Cairo Conference in November 1943 the Chinese seemed to be the dominant Allied power in Indochinese affairs. In May 1941 the Viet Minh (Viet Nam Doc Lap Dong Minh Hoi, or League for the Independence of Vietnam) was organized at the 8th Plenum of the Indochinese Communist party held in South China. Ho Chi Minh headed this "united front" group that welcomed anyone willing to fight for "national liberation." The Chinese closely watched Ho, and when his popularity threatened their control, they jailed him for a short time and established a rival Vietnam Revolutionary League. After Ho was released, Chiang placed him over the new League, but apparently only after he promised to accept Chinese guidance.²⁸ Roosevelt probably knew of these maneuvers, and if so they must have confirmed his belief that Chiang could exert a strong hand in Indochinese affairs. By this time FDR had considerable knowledge of Southeast Asia. As part of his postwar planning, for example, he commissioned private studies of the area's population and resources. The scholar who conducted these studies, Henry Field, became a friend of Roosevelt's, even accompanying him to the presidential retreat of Shangri-la north of Washington for a weekend of conversation.²⁹

At Cairo the president consequently moved to settle the Indochina question by asking whether Chiang would like to control the area after the war. The Chinese leader was apparently cool, noting that the Indochinese peoples were difficult to handle. Left unsaid was that Chiang's problems with the Chinese Communists, semiautonomous warlords, and reactionary elements within his Kuomintang party were far more important to him than Indochina. Chiang instead suggested that "China and the United States should

²⁷ The entire episode and its aftermath are recounted in Mountbatten to Wedemeyer, May 6, 1945, copy in PRO, FO 371 F3492/11/G61. A different version is in Charles F. Romanus and Riley Sunderland, *Time Runs Out in CBI* (Washington, 1959), 260.

²⁸ House, *U.S.-Vietnam Relations*, bk. 1, B2, B3; memorandum by John Carter Vincent, June 23, 1943, National Archives, Record Group 59 (hereafter NA, RG 59), Department of State, Washington, D.C., 851G.00/81 PS/ATB, box 4672.

²⁹ The author is indebted to Professor Raymond O'Connor, University of Miami, for this information; see also Henry Field, "How F.D.R. Did His Homework," *Saturday Review*, July 8, 1961, pp. 8-10, and Field, *The Track of Man* (Garden City, N.Y., 1963).

endeavor together to help Indochina achieve independence after the war." Without hesitation, Roosevelt agreed.³⁰ Shortly after the conference, Clarence E. Gauss, the United States ambassador to China, provided the best analysis of Chiang's policy: "It is probable that no opportunity will be lost to establish and increase Chinese influence and control in Indochina to as great a degree as circumstances render practicable."³¹ Roosevelt displayed none of Gauss's ambivalence. He was confident he had now secured China's position as one of the four postwar "policemen," despite British opposition.³²

Traveling to Teheran for meetings with Churchill and Stalin, FDR quickly disposed of the French issue, at least to his own satisfaction, by agreeing with Stalin that, in the president's words, "many years of honest labor would be necessary" before France would be re-established. Roosevelt did not raise such issues with Churchill. The president told the Soviet leader that, at Cairo, Chiang had displayed "no designs on Indochina but the people of Indochina were not yet ready for independence." He had consequently discussed with Chiang the possibility of a trusteeship system that would prepare the people for independence within a definite period of time, "perhaps 20 to 30 years." Stalin "completely agreed with this view."³³ Apparently confident that he had Churchill boxed in on this issue, and not wishing to have a direct encounter with the prime minister—who could become vitriolic whenever colonial questions arose—FDR did not push for a final resolution of the Indochina problem at Teheran.

Instead, he returned to Washington and announced his policy in a manner that astonished, frightened, and infuriated the British and French. On December 16, 1943, FDR received the Chinese and Turkish ambassadors, the Egyptian minister, and the Soviet and Persian first secretaries. He began by observing that he had been working hard to prevent Indochina from being restored to France. The president wanted "some United Nations trusteeship to govern those people," until they could govern themselves, "somewhat after the manner of developments in the Philippines." He was not explicit about which nations would be responsible for the trusteeship, but he noted that "at recent meetings it has been decided that peace must be kept by force. There was no other way and world policemen would be necessary who would need certain places from which to exercise their function without bringing up questions of changes in sovereignty." Roosevelt

³⁰ *FRUS, The Conferences at Cairo and Tehran, 1943* (Washington, 1961), 325. The more negative view of Chiang's response is given in Drachman, *U.S. Policy*, 48. After Yalta, FDR apparently recalled Chiang's reply at Cairo as quite negative, but the records of the Cairo conversations and Roosevelt's actions after the Cairo Conference do not substantiate his later view. That view is in *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt, 1941-1945*, ed. Samuel I. Rosenman, 13 (New York, 1950): 562-63.

³¹ Gauss to secretary of state, Jan. 5, 1944, NA, RG 59, 851G.00/96 PS/BMB, box 4672.

³² A good summary is in Herbert Feis, *Churchill, Roosevelt, Stalin: The War They Waged and the Peace They Sought* (Princeton, 1957), 246-53.

³³ House, *U.S.-Vietnam Relations*, bk. 7, B24-B25.

thus implied that since China and the United States were to be the policemen in Asia, they needed bases on and control over Indochina.³⁴ FDR's anticolonial idealism was firmly rooted in the determination to protect American spheres of interest with military force.

British officials were aghast. Alexander Cadogan, the permanent under-secretary of the Foreign Office, minuted, "This is one of the President's most half-baked and most unfortunate obiter dicta," to which Anthony Eden added, "I agree." Eden approved a Foreign Office comment that the United States could have bases, but the French must retain Indochina: "In the first place we do not know where the United States would stop if they were once allowed or encouraged to imagine that the conception of 'parent states' in the Pacific might be discarded; and in the second place . . . it is very difficult indeed to suggest any alternative to the French regime than that of China—which has even less to recommend it."³⁵ One Foreign Office official wondered whether Roosevelt "is suffering from the same form of megalomania which characterized the late President Wilson and Mr. Lloyd George (the latter to a lesser extent) . . . and proved the former's undoing."³⁶ At SEAC headquarters, FDR's words caused Mountbatten "considerable anxiety," for, without informing the Americans, he had already begun equipping French agents for missions inside Indochina.³⁷ The British ambassador in Chungking, Sir Horace J. Seymour, interpreted Roosevelt's statement as assuring American support whenever China wanted to assume control of Indochina.³⁸

Eden instructed Lord Halifax, the British ambassador to the United States, to ask Hull the meaning of FDR's comments. When the secretary of state replied that he knew nothing about the conversation, Halifax went directly to Roosevelt. In high spirits, the president assured the ambassador he had meant what he said. Chiang did not want full control of Indochina and "Stalin had thought it a good plan to put it under international trusteeship." Halifax worried that "one of these days" FDR might "have the bright idea that the Netherlands East Indies or Malaya would go under international trusteeships." Roosevelt replied that "the cases were quite different." The British and Dutch "had done a good job but the French were hopeless." "Well," the president concluded, "tell Winston I gained or got three votes to his own one as we stand today."³⁹ He reaffirmed this position in February 1944 when the State Department inquired whether French troops could be used to some extent in liberating Indochina. "No French help in Indochina," FDR shot back, "country on trusteeship." Under-

³⁴ The best account of the conversation has been found in Eden to Churchill, Dec. 20, 1943, PRO, FO 371 F118/66/61.

³⁵ Foreign Office minute, Feb. 2, 1944, PRO, FO 371 F980/66/61.

³⁶ Minute by Cavendish-Bentinck, Dec. 1943, PRO, FO F6656/1422/61.

³⁷ M. E. Dening to Cadogan, Jan. 3, 1944, no. 2, and *en clair* version of telegram no. 540 from New Delhi, Jan. 3, 1944, both in PRO, FO 371 F79/66/61.

³⁸ Seymour to Eden, Jan. 6, 1944, PRO, FO 371 F118/66/61.

³⁹ FDR quoted in Halifax to Eden, Jan. 19, 1944, PRO, FO 371 F360/66/61.

secretary of State Stettinius told other State Department officials that Roosevelt wanted "no French troops whatever used. . . . He feels the operations should be Anglo-American with international trusteeship following."⁴⁰

The calmest reaction to the president's remarks came from Churchill. Throughout their several meetings in 1942-43, the prime minister had refused to confront Roosevelt directly on the Indochina issue. In his meeting with Halifax, FDR complained he had tried to discuss the question "or perhaps discussed is the wrong word. I have spoken about it 25 times, but the Prime Minister has never said anything."⁴¹ Meanwhile British policy became firm when the War Cabinet approved a Foreign Office recommendation of February 16, 1944, that Indochina should be restored to France. In return, the French would agree to the "establishment of international bases at strategic points (under United States control or otherwise)." The Foreign Office next urged the War Cabinet to approve the attachment of a French mission to Mountbatten's command, and a more active French role in strategic planning and political warfare in Southeast Asia.⁴² Churchill wished to delay these decisions until the all-important second front and its attendant political problems were behind him. The Foreign Office nevertheless continued to push the prime minister, partly because it feared that if the British were not sufficiently hospitable, the French would "transfer all their activities to China," where the United States was in command, "and take their chance on an admittedly bad wicket."⁴³

On April 4 the British Chiefs of Staff approved attaching a French military mission to Mountbatten's headquarters—although the Chiefs shortly postponed carrying out this decision for several months—endorsed French participation in combat against the Japanese and also in political warfare, and accepted the establishment in India of about five hundred select French and native troops that could move into Indochina at the opportune moment. When the Foreign Office urged Churchill to obtain American acceptance of these decisions, however, he refused. The time was not yet ripe for such a frontal approach to FDR.⁴⁴ The prime minister earlier suggested "a very strong movement on [the Indochina] issue from the Foreign Office through the State Department and leave till a later stage any direct communications between me and the President."⁴⁵

This was shrewd advice, for British officials appreciated how the State Department opposed Roosevelt's Indochina policies. This opposition ex-

⁴⁰ Stettinius quoted in House, *U.S.-Vietnam Relations*, bk. 7, B32-B33.

⁴¹ FDR quoted in Halifax to Eden, Jan. 19, 1944, PRO, FO 371 F360/66/61.

⁴² War Cabinet Offices, W.P. (44) 3, Feb. 16, 1944, PRO, FO 371 F980/66/61.

⁴³ Maurice Peterson to Lt. Gen. Sir Hastings Ismay, War Cabinet, Mar. 11, 1944, PRO, FO 371 F1294/66/61; John Keswick to Dening, Mar. 17, 1944, PRO, FO 371 F1394/9/61. Throughout much of the war Churchill was not well informed about affairs within Indochina; see Churchill to Ismay, copy, Mar. 12, 1945, PRO, FO 371, F1648/11/61.

⁴⁴ WCO to Ashley Clarke, Apr. 19, 1944, PRO, FO 371 F1911/9/61; minute on prime minister minute, May 21, 1944, PRO, FO 371 F2502/9/61.

⁴⁵ Churchill to Eden, Jan. 12, 1944, PRO, FO 371 F118/66/61.

plains why FDR never sufficiently trusted his own policy makers either to flesh out or supervise his Indochina plans. He knew that entrusting his policy to the State Department ensured the dilution if not destruction of the program. At the very time in March 1943, for example, that Roosevelt told Eden of his trusteeship plans, Undersecretary of State Welles informed the British that "Indochina . . . should be returned to France," if the French promised eventual independence for the area. Hull agreed with Welles.⁴⁶

Desk officials responsible for policy toward Western Europe were not interested in extracting even that promise from France. Like their counterparts in the Foreign Office, they wanted France quickly restored and capable of offsetting Russian power on the Continent. Fascinating bureaucratic shuffling in spring 1944 seemed to weaken these pro-French officials. A new Division of Southwest Pacific Affairs (later known as the Division of Southeast Asian Affairs) was attached to the Office of Far Eastern Affairs. The division had primary jurisdiction over policies concerning Thailand, but after an apparently bitter intradepartmental struggle, it was forced to share jurisdiction over Indochina with the Office of European Affairs. A split soon developed between Abbot Low Moffat, chief of the Southeast Asian Affairs Division, who wanted specific promises from the Europeans regarding the dates when their colonies would become independent, and the European Office, headed by James Clement Dunn. The European Office had little objection to full restoration of the French empire.⁴⁷ Dunn succeeded in tying up State Department policy on Indochina.

BY THE SUMMER OF 1944 the president's Indochina plans were in danger. British pressure, French determination, and State Department opposition were building, but the immediate threat arose from a crisis in China. During the spring, the Japanese attacked Stilwell's forces, gravely endangering the entire Allied position in South China. Roosevelt pleaded with Chiang to use the ten American-equipped Chinese divisions in Yunnan to help both Stilwell and a small British force struggling in Burma. Chiang refused, fearing that if the ten divisions were moved, the Japanese would invade Yunnan and Szechwan; the Chinese Communists would then trigger a rebellion and all China would be lost. On April 3, as the situation worsened, Roosevelt again implored Chiang to move against the Japanese. The Chinese leader never acknowledged the note. As a White House analysis of this affair concluded, "There was no solution to this impasse and the President stopped trying to prod Chiang Kai-shek into action."⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Welles quoted in Halifax to Eden, Apr. 1, 1943, PRO, FO 371 F1851/877/61; Woodward, *British Foreign Policy*, 440-42.

⁴⁷ *Hearings before the Committee on Foreign Relations, U.S. Senate, 92nd Cong., 2nd Sess., on Causes, Origins and Lessons of the Vietnam War, May 9, 10, 11, 1972* (Washington, 1973), 165-67.

⁴⁸ FDR to Admiral Brown, Dec. 4, 1944, FDRL.

By May 1944 FDR was giving up his attempt to develop China into one of the four policemen. That month he told his cabinet that "he was apprehensive for the first time as to China holding together for the duration of the war."⁴⁹ In mid-summer Roosevelt asked that Stilwell be given control of China's armies in the war area. Chiang again refused to reply directly.⁵⁰ Meanwhile, reactionary elements of Chiang's Kuomintang threatened to split the party irrevocably. The division was especially serious in the Kunming area bordering Indochina. At the same time, the Chinese government issued new laws discriminating against American investments. The State Department protested, but with little result. Even *Life* magazine, long a champion of Chiang, published a report from Theodore White that warned, "We are being played for suckers" by Chinese leaders who were hoarding American supplies to use in the "inevitable civil war."⁵¹ China, moreover, was becoming less vital to the Allied war effort. The American island-hopping campaign drove straight toward the Japanese home islands. Once crucial to FDR's military strategy, the China theater became peripheral.

As the China crisis undermined the president's hopes for Indochina, several other developments destroyed the plans. Roosevelt and State Department officials finally had to recognize that Charles de Gaulle, whom they feared and despised, had defeated General Henri Giraud for control of the Free French movement.⁵² The previous December the Frenchman had moved slightly to placate the president by promising more autonomy "within the French community" for Indochina, including "access" for Indochinese to all public offices and positions in the state.⁵³ By the time de Gaulle visited Washington, moreover, the president's own plans were in disarray. The French leader claimed that during the July 1944 visit FDR even declared that France would not be excluded from Indochina.⁵⁴ If this was said it is doubtful Roosevelt was sincere, for although his policy was in trouble, he had not yet abandoned it. After further ups and downs in American-Free French relations, the United States recognized the de Gaulle regime in October 1944 as the provisional government of France. Since

⁴⁹ FDR quoted in Stettinius to Grew, May 24, 1944, Division of Far Eastern Affairs (Mr. Ballantine), Edward R. Stettinius Papers, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, box 217.

⁵⁰ The episode is traced in FDR to Admiral Brown, Dec. 4, 1944, FDRL.

⁵¹ FDR to Admiral Brown, Dec. 4, 1944, FDRL; memorandum by Vincent, *FRUS*, 1944, 6: 524-25; *Life*, May 1, 1944, especially 101-03; Stettinius to Roosevelt, Aug. 15, 1944, with enclosure by Grew of Aug. 15, *FRUS*, 1944, 6: 141-43. For a good analysis of the 1944 crisis in China, see Paul A. Varg, *The Closing of the Door: Sino-American Relations, 1936-1946* (East Lansing, 1973), chs. 3, 4.

⁵² Kolko, *Politics of War*, 83-84. Top State Department officials intensely disliked de Gaulle and, like FDR, gave up hopes for Giraud only at the last possible moment. They especially disliked de Gaulle's ties with the British. As H. F. Matthews, of the department's European desk, wrote, "They [the British] have built up this French Adolf for the past three years." H. F. Matthews to Ray Atherton, June 25, 1943, Admiral William L. Leahy Papers, Library of Congress, box 4.

⁵³ De Gaulle quoted in Drachman, *U.S. Policy*, 53.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 76-77.

de Gaulle had been outspoken in his intent to restore the French empire, FDR's Indochina policies had suffered a further setback.

Another blow fell in September when W. Averell Harriman, U.S. ambassador to Russia, placed Asian problems in a different and ominous context. "Our relations with the Soviets have taken a startling turn evident during the last two months," Harriman wrote on September 10. "They have held up our requests with complete indifference to our interests and have shown an unwillingness even to discuss pressing problems." Harriman specifically warned that the Russians threatened to "become a world bully wherever their interests are involved. This policy will reach into China and the Pacific as well when they can turn their attention in that direction."⁵⁵ For several months the president's policies toward China had indeed anticipated Harriman's message. From the Wallace mission through the Yalta agreements, FDR's major objective was no longer to make China a policeman, but to separate the Russians from the Chinese Communists and then use the Communists as a lever to force Chiang to make reforms so his regime could survive. Roosevelt carried out this policy well during the remainder of his life, but it had little of the bravura of his earlier schemes for Indochina. A Communist threat had replaced Roosevelt's hope for a pro-American Chinese policeman, and with that change his trusteeship plans went further awry.

His overall ideas about postwar trusteeships also changed radically during mid-1944. American security interests, the president's military advisers insisted, required that the United States control former Japanese-held islands in the Pacific, doing so under rules that would not allow any international agency to affect the bases. Since November 1942 the British had taken a similar position on the issue of international control. Roosevelt and Hull had fought Churchill on this question, but by 1944 the president had fallen silent. In August, Harry Hopkins, Roosevelt's closest White House adviser, told British officials that although FDR thought "a number of these colonies should not revert to their former status with their mother countries doing as they liked and doing badly," this policy did not refer to "territorial status. It was more in the economic field that the President meant to get his views adopted. He was determined to raise the standard of native colonial populations." British minister of state Richard Law correctly interpreted Hopkins's comments as signaling a major American retreat on trusteeships. When the Dumbarton Oaks Conference met that month to discuss the postwar world organization, the American proposal on colonies made no reference to ultimate independence for European colonies.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ Harriman to Hopkins, Sept. 10, 1944, Harriman file, Hopkins Papers, box 96.

⁵⁶ Hopkins quoted in R. I. Campbell to Mr. Law, Aug. 14, 1944, PRO, FO 371 AN3333/20/45; House, *U.S.-Vietnam Relations*, bk. 1, A2.

It had been a difficult and decisive summer for FDR's Indochina policies. In a matter of months de Gaulle, Communists, and economic development replaced Giraud, Chiang, and colonial independence as fundamentals of the president's strategy. The new elements transfigured his plan. With the moment ripe, Churchill approached FDR on the issue. On August 4 the prime minister suddenly agreed to Foreign Office arguments that General R. C. A. H. Blaizot of de Gaulle's staff should be allowed to join Mountbatten's command. The matter was handled through the Combined Chiefs of Staff, which asked for Roosevelt's consent. The president's policy was disintegrating, but he was not yet ready to surrender. Despite the Combined Chiefs' plea, and despite pressure from State Department officials—who argued that if Americans armed French troops, Roosevelt might split France from Great Britain—FDR refused to agree. He told his advisers he would discuss Indochina with Churchill at their Quebec conference in September.⁵⁷

The problem was never thrashed out at Quebec, for according to available records neither man raised the issue. Roosevelt's position on Indochina was weakening almost daily. While traveling to the conference he read a memorandum from John Paton Davies, a Foreign Service officer stationed in China, which urged the president to consider what kind of coalition the United States would desire once Chiang lost power. Davies believed this crisis was imminent.⁵⁸ At the same time, Roosevelt learned from Hull that instead of aiming at Japan's early defeat, "the military operations of SEAC are aimed primarily at the resurgence of British political and economic ascendancy in Southeastern Asia," and perhaps even at "a Southeast Asia federation of Burma, Malaya, Thailand and Indochina under British aegis," although London officials denied this latter report.⁵⁹ Watching with obvious relief the deterioration of both Chinese internal affairs and Sino-American relations, Mountbatten's headquarters told the Foreign Office in early September, "If we examine the realities of the position, the Chinese are unlikely, at any rate without strong American aid, to be in a position to attack either Siam or Indochina."⁶⁰ Such aid was not likely to be forthcoming. At Quebec the American Joint Chiefs told the British command that the United States would concentrate on the drive toward Japan, allowing England to retake Singapore and help the Dutch recover the East Indies. The United States no longer had a major military interest in Southeast Asia.⁶¹

Great Britain meanwhile moved to the offensive. As Mountbatten secretly

⁵⁷ Prime minister minute, May 21, 1944, PRO, FO 371 F2502/9/61; Major-General Gubbins to Mr. Young, July 8, 1944, PRO, FO 371 F3365/9/61; FDR's reaction is given and analyzed in Halifax to Eden, Aug. 30, 1944, PRO, FO 371 F4018/9/61.

⁵⁸ Hopkins to FDR with Davies enclosure, Sept. 8, 1944, FDRL, Map Room, Naval Aide file, box 165.

⁵⁹ "Memorandum for the President," *FRUS, The Conference at Quebec, 1944*, 263–64.

⁶⁰ Denning to Foreign Office, Sept. 6, 1944, PRO, FO 371 F4117/66/61.

⁶¹ FDR to Admiral Brown, Dec. 4, 1944, FDRL; House, *U.S.-Vietnam Relations*, bk. 1, A14–A15.

helped Gaullist agents parachute into Indochina during August to contact French underground factions, he did not bother to obtain American approval. When United States officials complained, the British dryly replied that it was a military operation with "no ulterior political objective whatever."⁶² On October 21 Churchill approved the sending of French officials to become a permanent part of the SEAC command. This time the prime minister did not even inform FDR of his decision, let alone ask the president's permission. "There is no need for me to telegraph to the President," Churchill noted.⁶³ Roosevelt learned nothing about this decision until the following month when American intelligence informed him that the French had moved into SEAC headquarters. Meanwhile, the British Secret Operations Executive maneuvered to send additional agents into Indochina and Thailand to undercut covert activities of the American Office of Strategic Services.⁶⁴

When Roosevelt discovered these British initiatives, he simply instructed his officials, "We must not give American approval to any French military mission," and added that no American in the Far East should "make decisions on political questions with the French mission or with anyone else." The president concluded, "We have made no final decisions on the future of Indochina."⁶⁵ This statement differed considerably from the line he had taken with Eden and Halifax in 1943 and early 1944.

In December 1944 and January 1945 the British pressured FDR on behalf of a new cause. They wanted his explicit agreement that French saboteurs could be sent into Indochina. The president first delayed, telling Secretary of State Stettinius on New Year's Day, "I still do not want to get mixed up in any Indochina decision. It is a matter for postwar." The following day he rejected the British request.⁶⁶ But on January 4, Roosevelt told Halifax that the French saboteurs should be sent in and the British should ask no questions. FDR agreed to turn his head while the French moved back into Indochina. Halifax reported to the Foreign Office that Roosevelt did not want to appear to be approving the restoration of Indochina to de Gaulle's government, but the ambassador was pleased with what had been accomplished and advised, "Let sleeping dogs lie."⁶⁷ At the same time, Harry Hopkins told Stettinius and the secretary of war, Henry Stimson, that "there was need for a complete review not only of the Indochina situation but of our entire French approach," for the French felt "we were opposing their regrowth." Stimson indicated his support by observing that "France has become a great military base."⁶⁸

⁶² In file, Dening, SEAC, Aug. 5, 1944, PRO, FO 371 F3677/66/61.

⁶³ Churchill quoted in Mideast to AMSSO, Oct. 21, 1944, PRO, FO 371 F4930/9/61.

⁶⁴ Stettinius to Roosevelt, *FRUS*, 1944 (Washington, 1965), 3: 778-79.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 780.

⁶⁶ *Pentagon Papers*, 1: 11; calendar notes for Tues., Jan. 2, 1945, Stettinius Papers, box 224.

⁶⁷ Halifax to Eden, Jan. 9, 1945, PRO, FO 371 F190/11/G61.

⁶⁸ Hopkins and Stimson quoted in memorandum of Jan. 4, 1945, by Stettinius, NA, RG 59, 851G.00/1-445, box 6177.

Roosevelt nevertheless continued to assume that Indochina remained in Chiang's theater of operations. In mid-January FDR told a friend in the State Department that "French Indochina must not be turned back to the French."⁶⁹ His words, however, were no longer consistent with his actions. When pressed, FDR told advisers he would discuss the situation with Churchill at Yalta. As the State Department attempted to formulate a position for the conference, the European Office rejected any wording that might indicate the United States opposed the outright return of Indochina to France. (Three months later James Clement Dunn would argue his case by agreeing with the French foreign minister, Georges Bidault, that unless there was "wholehearted cooperation with France," a Russian-dominated Europe would threaten "western civilization."⁷⁰) The Europeanists won a clear-cut victory when Roosevelt approved their proposal that the American trusteeship plan to be offered at Yalta would allow France and other colonial powers to place their colonies under an international trusteeship only if the powers wished to do so. There was little likelihood that de Gaulle would voluntarily surrender the French empire in Asia. Three months after Yalta, John D. Hickerson of the State Department's European Office told a British friend that the trusteeship provision had been included because "the State Department felt that President Roosevelt had gone too far" in his anti-French policy.⁷¹

FDR understood what was happening. "There is not much difference between our State Department and your Foreign Office," he told a British visitor, adding that he had once told Anthony Eden "he was an awfully nice fellow, notwithstanding the fact that he was brought up in the Foreign Office."⁷² When Roosevelt finally discussed Indochina at Yalta it was not with Churchill, but privately with Stalin. Churchill's and Roosevelt's roles had become reversed; now the president did not wish to raise the issue with the prime minister. "It would only make the British mad," FDR rationalized, "Better to keep quiet just now."⁷³ Stalin was a more agreeable listener, sympathizing with the president's plan that American ships should not be allowed to carry French troops to Indochina.⁷⁴

Events were rapidly moving in Churchill's favor. On March 9, 1945, Japan suddenly assumed full control by overthrowing the Vichy regime

⁶⁹ "Preliminary Memorandum on Conversation between the President and the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Colonel Stanley," Jan. 16, 1945, Taussig Papers, box 52.

⁷⁰ *Hearings . . . on Causes . . . of the Vietnam War*, 165, 167; memorandum on Indochina by "FEW," Apr. 23, 1945, NA, RG 59, 851G.00/4-2345, box 6177.

⁷¹ Hickerson quoted in minute by Mr. Butler, July 10, 1945, PRO, FO 371 F4240/11/G61; Iriye, *Cold War in Asia*, 96.

⁷² "Additional Memorandum—Stanley Luncheon with President," Jan. 16, 1945, Taussig Papers, box 52.

⁷³ *Papers and Addresses of Roosevelt*, 13: 562-63.

⁷⁴ House, *U.S.-Vietnam Relations*, bk. 7, B59. For the critical point that by the Yalta Conference FDR had turned "to deal with Russia as a major partner [in the Far East] even if it involved sacrificing part of Chinese sovereignty," see Iriye, *Cold War in Asia*, 95; also see Diane Shaver Clemens, *Yalta* (New York, 1970), 245.

in Indochina. Giving way with little opposition, most of the Vichy forces either disintegrated or were imprisoned by the Japanese.⁷⁵ But small resistance units wandered in the countryside or struggled northward to seek refuge in China. De Gaulle and the British demanded that Roosevelt immediately order American air forces in China to assist the French units. For several days the president refused, arguing it was logistically impossible to get supplies to the forces. But on March 15, in a conversation with a State Department expert on colonial affairs, Charles Taussig, the president first remarked that Indochina should be taken from France and put under a trusteeship, "hesitated a moment and then said—well if we can get the proper pledge from France to assume for herself the obligations of a trustee, then I would agree to France retaining these colonies with the proviso that independence was the ultimate goal."⁷⁶ Roosevelt had accepted postwar control of Indochina by France, but with an important qualification.

The next day, March 16, Roosevelt received the record of a March 14 conversation between de Gaulle and American ambassador to France, Jefferson Caffrey. The French leader pleaded that help be sent to the resistance forces in Indochina, then urged that Roosevelt approve Franco-British operations in the area. De Gaulle finally exploded, "What are you [Americans] driving at? Do you want us to become, for example, one of the federated states under the Russian aegis? . . . When Germany falls they will be on us. . . . We do not want to become Communist; we do not want to fall into the Russian orbit but we hope you do not push us into it." Within forty-eight hours Roosevelt ordered American air forces in China to aid the French resistance in Indochina, providing this aid did not interfere with operations against Japan.⁷⁷

Until his death three weeks later, FDR clung to only one part of his earlier plan: the retention of Indochina within the China command. He evidently hoped to use this leverage to moderate Anglo-French activities in the area. Roosevelt consequently fought off Churchill's attempts in late March to put Indochina *de facto* under Mountbatten's control.⁷⁸ The president insisted that Mountbatten clear all plans with the new American commander in China, General Albert Wedemeyer, who strongly opposed French and British imperial aspirations.⁷⁹

⁷⁵ *The United States and Vietnam, 1944-1947: A Staff Study Based on the Pentagon Papers Prepared for the Use of the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate*, study no. 2 (Washington, 1972), 23.

⁷⁶ Memorandum of conversation, by Taussig, *FRUS, 1945* (Washington, 1967), 1: 124.

⁷⁷ "Record," vols. 3-4, Mar. 11-17, 1945, Stettinius Papers; House, *U.S.-Vietnam Relations*, bk. 7, B66-B68; Leahy diary, Mar. 18, 1945, Leahy Papers, box 5. For the resulting confusion among the French in Southeast Asia, see General G. Sabbatier, *Le Destin de L'Indochine: Souvenirs et documents, 1941-1951* (Paris, 1952), 152-202. Sabbatier includes memorandums from de Gaulle.

⁷⁸ Churchill to Roosevelt, Mar. 17, 1945, and Roosevelt to Churchill, Mar. 22, 1945, FDRL, Map Room, box 7.

⁷⁹ Wedemeyer told Mountbatten's political adviser "with conviction that there would not be a British Empire after the war." Quoted in Dening to Foreign Office, Dec. 9, 1944, PRO, FO 371 F5800/993/61.

With China's near collapse, however, FDR had no agent to work through, and he had even begun to aid the French units in Indochina. On April 3 Secretary of State Stettinius, with Roosevelt's approval, announced the Yalta agreements on trusteeships. The statement constituted public acknowledgment that the president had reversed his earlier Indochina policy.⁸⁰ Churchill now pushed for Roosevelt's complete surrender. On the day before FDR died, the prime minister told the president that despite American opposition he had just instructed Mountbatten to conduct "minimum preoccupational activities in Indochina" and only to *inform* Wedemeyer.⁸¹ FDR never objected to this message. Given his retreat on Indochina policy since the autumn of 1944, it is doubtful if he would have objected even had he lived weeks longer. In the autumn of 1945, Washington officials said little as France regained full control of Indochina, or, more accurately, attempted to do so. When the French ultimately failed, the United States would re-enter Southeast Asia, but hardly as Roosevelt had planned.

THE PRESIDENT'S INDOCHINA POLICY in 1943-44 is a case study of how supposed idealism, in this instance anticolonialism, can blend perfectly with American self-interest. If such colonial areas as Indochina and Hong Kong were placed under international trustees who pledged to carry out the Atlantic Charter's principle of "free access" to markets and raw materials, it was obvious that the United States, emerging from the war as the globe's economic and military giant, would be best able to take advantage of the "free access" opportunity. If in Asia, as Roosevelt said in 1943, China and the United States were to be the postwar policemen, American power would become particularly dominant, for Chiang's regime increasingly depended upon Washington for economic and military help. Fully realizing how FDR hoped to use the Chinese to undercut the British empire in Asia, London officials feverishly opposed American power in and aspirations for China.⁸² Churchill and the Foreign Office also concluded that although Charles de Gaulle was not the most agreeable of men, they needed his cooperation in restoring France if British interests in Asia and Europe were to be protected after the war.

The British received decisive help from events in Washington and Asia. Roosevelt was finally defeated not by idealism, secretiveness, or failure to understand the need for reconciling his military with his political plans,

⁸⁰ *Hearings . . . on Causes . . . of the Vietnam War*, 174; *Department of State Bulletin*, Apr. 8, 1945, p. 601.

⁸¹ *FRUS, The Conference of Berlin, 1945* (Washington, 1960), 1: 917-18.

⁸² On January 2, 1945, for example, the American ambassador to China Patrick J. Hurley told Roosevelt, "The British Ambassador has said to General Wedemeyer and also to me that the American policy to unify China is detrimental if not destructive to the position of the white man in Asia." Hurley to Roosevelt, telegram, Jan. 2, 1945, FDR-Hurley Correspondence, FDRL, Map Room. Hurley's fights over the colonial issue are well described in Russell D. Buhite, *Patrick J. Hurley and American Foreign Policy* (Ithaca, 1973).

but by his own advisers and the Chinese crisis of 1944. On the Indochina issue he utterly failed as head of government, for he proved unable to impose his policy upon either the State Department or the military. The U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, for example, were willing to allow French agents into Indochina for military purposes as early as the summer of 1944.⁸³ The crucial blow fell when Chiang's response to the military-political crisis in China revealed to Roosevelt the hollowness of the generalissimo's regime.⁸⁴ No longer able to depend upon China as an effective policeman, and with American power committed to the final assaults upon Japan and Germany, FDR reduced both his military and political objectives in China and South-east Asia.⁸⁵

Roosevelt's hopes for Indochina were transformed by early 1945, but one fundamental part of his plans did not change. Although he believed that the "brown people in the East" would some day be independent, and that the United States must help them work for this goal,⁸⁶ the president never expressed any hope that Indochina's population could be trusted with immediate independence. Even Abbot Low Moffat, who headed the South-east Asia desk and was among the most anti-French of the State Department officials, told France's consul general on March 6, 1945, that he "hoped the ultimate development in Southeastern Asia would be autonomous countries in close voluntary association or federation with various European powers." In the long run, Moffat feared, "completely independent countries not so associated might lead to wars among themselves or possibly a Pan-Asiatic movement hostile to the West." The French consul general replied that this "really was the view of France."⁸⁷ Above all, American officials, including Roosevelt, wanted an orderly, nonrevolutionary Southeast Asia open to Western interests. It was therefore not illogical that when the president's trusteeship plan faded, he allowed the colonial powers to re-enter Indochina.

⁸³ Stimson to Roosevelt, Nov. 24, 1944, President's Secretary's file, Indochina, FDRL, box 30.

⁸⁴ For an opposing interpretation, see Drachman, *U.S. Policy*, xiii.

⁸⁵ For the contrary view that FDR did not keep his military and political objectives aligned, see James MacGregor Burns, *Roosevelt: The Soldier of Freedom* (New York, 1970), 544-46.

⁸⁶ Memorandum of conversation, by Taussig, *FRUS*, 1945, 1: 124.

⁸⁷ Memorandum of conversation by Moffat, Mar. 6, 1945, NA, RG 59, 851G.00/3-645, box 6177. For other U.S. officials who believed the Vietnamese unfit for self-government, see Ronald Spector, "'What the Local Annamites are Thinking': American Views of Vietnamese in China, 1942-1945," *Southeast Asia*, 3 (1974): 741-51.

Reviews of Books

GENERAL

LLOYD DEMAUSE, editor. *The History of Childhood*. New York: Psychohistory Press. 1974. Pp. ii, 450. \$12.50.

Nine of the ten essays in this volume contribute to our understanding of the changing social position and treatment of children. Elizabeth W. Marvick has written an especially thoughtful and keen assessment of the multiplicity of factors that affected child rearing in seventeenth-century France. Richard B. Lyman, Jr. and Mary M. McLaughlin contribute valuable surveys and assessments of source materials from the late Roman period to the thirteenth century. James B. Ross sketches family life in Renaissance Italy; M. J. Tucker performs a similar service for sixteenth-century England. John F. Walzer adds a loosely conceived but informative survey of American attitudes and practices in the eighteenth century. Patrick Dunn attempts to explain why sons raised under traditional family discipline in Imperial Russia revolted against their fathers. Joseph E. Illick and Priscilla Robertson survey child rearing in seventeenth-century England and America and in nineteenth-century Europe respectively. Robertson's essay suffers from a tendency to assemble disconnected pieces of information, and Illick's from a failure to integrate data and conceptual framework, but each essay has merit.

This brings us to the most exasperating essay in the volume, editor Lloyd deMause's lead article, "The Evolution of Childhood." The dust jacket contains no fewer than seven puffs for deMause's contribution while ignoring the others, and deMause attempts to set the tone of the volume by offering a Comtian periodization of the history of the child that carries us from the "infanticidal mode" (antiquity to the fourth

century, A.D.) through the "abandonment mode" (next ten centuries), "ambivalent mode" (next four), "intrusive mode" (eighteenth century), to the "socialization" and "helping" modes since 1800. As the titles imply, deMause views the history of the child before recent times mainly as the history of child abuse. He explains child abuse by postulating widespread projective and reversal reactions among parents in the past. Briefly, parents either regressed to the psychic age of their children and worked out the anxieties of their own childhoods on their children, or they used children as substitutes for an adult figure important in their own childhoods. Having assured the reader that these psychoanalytic concepts explain the "nightmare" of past childhood, deMause then races through two millennia reciting instances of child abuse.

What is wrong with this approach? Almost everything. DeMause's idea of extrapolating a text is to assure us that practices therein described were "typical" or "widespread." To establish the pervasiveness of exposure of female children he cites a few instances of grossly imbalanced sex ratios but passes over the work of serious demographers who treat the evidence for infanticide more cautiously. Convinced of the primacy of psychogenic forces, he ignores the cultural, economic, and demographic constituents of any given society's treatment of children. As a corollary, he fails to relate the conditions of childhood in specific societies to those of adulthood. His grand finale, the Comtian periodization, reads like the Bostonian's proverbial map of the United States in which the "Great American Desert" starts at Newton. Perhaps historians of family life need a more sophisticated methodology, but they will not find it in the work of Lloyd deMause.

JOSEPH F. KETT
University of Virginia

PHILIPPE ARIÈS. *Western Attitudes toward Death: From the Middle Ages to the Present*. Translated by PATRICIA M. RANUM. (The Johns Hopkins Symposia in Comparative History.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1974. Pp. xi, 111. \$6.50.

DICKRAN and ANN TASHJIAN. *Memorials for Children of Change: The Art of Early New England Stonecarving*. Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press. 1974. Pp. xv, 309. \$20.00.

For well over a decade now Philippe Ariès has been preoccupied with a yet to be published study of Western attitudes toward death, a study that is expected to focus predominantly on the Middle Ages. The present book is a kind of interim report, with a less specifically medieval emphasis, in the form of four lectures given at the Johns Hopkins Symposia on Comparative History in 1973. It is a breathtaking survey that covers ten centuries in barely a hundred pages, and in it Ariès ties his panoramic vision to the same basic historical scheme outlined in his earlier study of family life in the West, *Centuries of Childhood* (1962).

Ariès sees four major approaches to death dominating the Western mentality since the early Middle Ages. "Tamed Death" is the way he characterizes the common vision of death in this earliest period; thoroughly socialized, lacking a modern sense of individualism, and accustomed to death as a perfectly natural everyday occurrence, the men and women of the early Middle Ages, Ariès argues, treated death almost promiscuously and accepted it not as an intrusion on life, but as an unavoidable process through one of man's stages of existence. This attitude was followed by "One's Own Death" in which the individual took on a new importance; it was in this era, beginning in the late Middle Ages, that the idea of Judgment became an intense preoccupation and in which physical existence and material possessions developed into fundamental concerns of the dying person. "Thy Death" is the term Ariès uses to characterize the attitude developed between the sixteenth and early nineteenth centuries when, as he has argued previously, the modern family took shape. Those aspects of bereavement previously shared by the community at large closed in now on the small circle of immediate survivors, and an attitude marked by ostentatious displays of elaborate funeral ritual and lengthy mourning and memorializing of the deceased soon emerged. At last, the prevailing modern attitude developed—"Forbidden Death"—in which rit-

ual has been reduced to a minimum, mourning has almost disappeared, and death itself has become ugly and unreal: it is "unnamable" and its reality simply goes unrecognized.

If such sweeping generalization and categorization must seem strained in such a brief work—and it does—it necessarily seems even more so in a short review. Ariès is, of course, aware of this problem and stresses the point that he is not describing abrupt changes in one discrete attitude replacing another, but that he sees subtle and gradual modifications in the concept of individuality and the structure and meaning of family and social life, with all of these evolving into ever new complexities and patterns of thought. This is an exciting essay, rich with potential implications for a variety of historical problems. It has served its purpose perfectly in whetting the appetite for the full study yet to come.

The Tashjians' book is a much more conservative effort. It is their announced central purpose to fit early New England stonecarving into a larger social and cultural context than has been done in previous studies of the same subject and to view this iconography not merely as the unconscious result of a folk tradition among a people presumed to be otherwise iconoclastic, but as the product of a conscious artistic sensibility. In the process of making this perfectly sensible case, however, they unnecessarily resurrect the ghosts of long dead caricatures of the Puritan as opposed to art in any form, in order that they may boldly slay those same ghosts once again; and in claiming to have broken new ground in locating art in a context of human culture rather than human nature, they are forced to overlook predecessors perhaps dating back to the Greeks—at least dating back in various forms to such nineteenth-century writers as de Staël and Taine (and, of course, Marx), to say nothing of a great deal of more recent anthropology and art criticism.

Having said all this, however, it must be noted that these criticisms bear only on the periphery of the solid and quite important work that forms the bulk of the Tashjians' book: they are on shaky ground only in their attempts at claiming that their ideas are particularly controversial and revisionist. The heart of the book, and its greatest value to students of colonial New England, is its detailed exploration of the changing themes and imagery of Puritan gravestone design and its relating of those themes to other craft and art forms. The

Tashjians have, in short, produced a very worthwhile contribution to art history. They are less successful in their attempts to translate their findings into more general cultural or social history, although their work does provide a good deal of material for the cultural and social historian. Ariès would do well to examine it. In an essay published a few years ago ("La Mort Inversée," *Archives Europeennes de Sociologie*, 8 [1967]: 169-95), he speculated on the profound importance of Puritanism in skewing later American attitudes toward death away from concurrent developments in Europe. He is much more unsure of that thesis in his most recent book. But the Tashjians' work in tracing the evolution and significance of New England funerary art from the seventeenth to the late eighteenth century is filled with material suggesting that Ariès's initial suspicions may have been well founded.

DAVID E. STANNARD
Yale University

WILLIAM A. WALLACE. *Causality and Scientific Explanation*. Volume 1, *Medieval and Early Classical Science*; volume 2, *Classical and Contemporary Science*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1972; 1974. Pp. xi, 288; xi, 422. \$12.00; \$14.00.

The product of assiduous inquiry by a mature and humble scholar, these two volumes seek to illuminate the role of causality in scientific thought. Dr. Wallace's chosen means is an in-depth historical study of the relationships between causes and explanations. He traces the line of argument about the proper nature of scientific explanation beginning with Aristotle and moving through the medieval schools of Paris and Oxford to Renaissance Padua. The second third of Professor Wallace's five-hundred-odd pages covers the founders of classical science: Gilbert, Kepler, Galileo, Harvey, and Newton; the philosophers who influenced them: Descartes, Hobbes, Locke, Berkeley, Hume, Leibnitz, and Kant; and the methodologists who codified the final results: Francis Bacon, Comte, J. F. W. Herschel, William Whewell, John Stuart Mill, and Claude Bernard. The last third of the study treats contemporary science (i.e. the past half century). Here the regrettable breakdown of law and order mandates organization around themes and concepts: "probability versus certainty," "theories as explanations." No fewer than ninety-one pages of notes, thirty-five of bibliography, and forty-three of index complete the work.

To bring such a project to fruition required wide learning, meticulous attention to detail, and great determination. Dr. Wallace was equal to his self-imposed task on every count. These two volumes will therefore enjoy considerable use among philosophers, historians, and scientists seeking information on how the relationships of explanation, science, and causality have been understood at different periods in Western thought. Indeed the author expresses the hope that "the work may be useful as a source book even for those who disagree with its general argument" (1: vii). Why that hope will not be disappointed should be apparent. More interesting are the reasons why Dr. Wallace's expectation of disagreement may also be fulfilled. In title and surface organization these volumes purport to cover the whole Western scientific tradition. Yet the index reveals that as much attention is given to Roger as to Francis Bacon—30 mentions each—while Albertus Magnus outranks Isaac Newton 39 to 22, and Albert Einstein is put in his place by Thomas Aquinas, 61 to 12. Admittedly Dr. Wallace's own strength lies in the medieval period, and his thesis is that "the reconstruction of contemporary philosophy of science necessitates a return to some of the values of medieval [science]" (1: vii). However, 160 references to Aristotle to but one to Charles Darwin does give the reader pause.

Equally problematic is the acceptance of a positivist vision of science in a work seeking to discredit the positivist rejection of causality. Dr. Wallace casts his inquiry primarily in terms of the "higher" sciences: over forty references to mathematics and thirty-eight to physics, compared to nine for chemistry, nine for biology, and three for all the social sciences. On the one hand, it is open to question how much justice such a distribution does to the historical roles of the several natural and social sciences. On the other hand, it is at least possible that one might learn more about causality in scientific explanation by focusing primarily on anthropology, biology, and sociology rather than on mathematical physics. I raise these issues not to discredit the magnitude of Dr. Wallace's very considerable achievement, but rather to show how far even a historically minded philosopher is from seeing scientific thought in terms of shifting responses to group pressures and historical circumstance.

Oh! Just in case you were wondering, history is not now nor ever was a science—at least in this analysis.

ARNOLD THACKRAY
University of Pennsylvania

ROGER THOMPSON. *Women in Stuart England and America: A Comparative Study*. Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1974. Pp. ix, 276. \$11.25.

Are American women special? Tocqueville thought so in the nineteenth century, attributing their independence to the spirit of democracy. Roger Thompson finds American females to be privileged as far back as the colonial period, and he considers several reasons for this.

The law of supply and demand seems a major factor to Thompson, who thinks the best thing going for colonial women was their scarcity. More thoroughly than others, he has demonstrated the unbalanced sex ratio of the colonies, which, he speculates, placed American women in a better position to bargain for jobs and husbands than their English counterparts, who, he shows, outnumbered their menfolk at this time. Thompson argues, additionally, that aspects of Puritanism would have fostered the budding assertiveness of New England women, and that throughout the colonies, the continual crises of frontier life, by giving women opportunities to undertake challenges hitherto forbidden their sex, enhanced their status.

Thompson's speculations, though not entirely original, are elegant and imaginative. He is unconvincing, however, when attempting to prove that because women should have been better off in America, they actually were so. After considering the number of schools for girls in England and Massachusetts from accounts too diverse to allow precise comparison, he concludes nonetheless that the situation would "probably have been" better in the latter. Arguing that the colonies were more moral than the mother country, he passes rapidly over the meticulous work of the demographers, which indicates a low rate of premarital sex in England, only to accept the unsubstantiated remarks of Carl Bridenbaugh on the subject. A chapter on voting is similarly weak.

Thompson often compares diaries or court records from America with ideological statements from England. This encourages him to argue that while England was patriarchal, women could assert themselves in America. Research in English court records, however, would have shown him that there, too, husbands were not entirely free to beat wives, men as well as women were punished for sexual transgressions, and young girls felt free to spurn unattractive suitors. In his eagerness to fit everything into his scheme, Thompson has been too ready, when sources fail, to insist that American women "must" have been better off.

Peter Laslett and Alan MacFarlane have shown that social history can be rigorous. When scholars combine their techniques with Thompson's commendable talent for developing hypotheses, we will know a lot more about this subject.

CAROL Z. WIENER

Texas Southern University

JACOB M. PRICE. *France and the Chesapeake: A History of the French Tobacco Monopoly, 1674-1791, and of Its Relationship to the British and American Tobacco Trades*. In two volumes. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1973. Pp. xxii, 677; 681-1239. \$35.00 the set.

As explained in the preface, this massive study is really three separate but closely associated monographs. The first part is a business history of the operations of the tobacco monopoly in France from 1674 to 1791; the second, an account of its foreign buying, chiefly in Britain; the third, a "postscript" on the effects of the American Revolution and its aftermath on the French tobacco trade.

Jean Baptiste Colbert, marquis de Seignelay and controller general of French finance from 1661 until his death in 1683, one of the major economic thinkers of the modern world, believed that revenue from thousands of small transactions in staple products could be more efficiently secured by private agents than by state tax collectors. Consequently the importation, processing, and marketing of such commodities as salt and tobacco were leased to private monopolies, referred to as farms.

More than half of Professor Price's book is devoted to a quite detailed account of the operation of French big business in the tobacco monopoly. For most of its 117-year life it was a subsidiary of the United General Farms, a private, management organization controlling several somewhat similar monopolies. Since the governments of the last three Louises were usually in dire need of money, the state drove some hard bargains with the farmers when tobacco leases had periodically to be renewed. The government exactions appear to have forced a fair level of honesty and managerial efficiency in the operation of the bureaucracy of ten thousand to twenty thousand employees serving forty thousand retailers. Colbert's calculation that leasing was more remunerative than taxation may have been correct.

Business historians will be interested to see the early use of controllers, committees, traveling staff consultants, and rather elaborate book-keeping. Monopolistic security for the term of

each lease encouraged long-run planning in purchasing and distribution. In many respects the French managerial bureaucracy of 1725 appears to have anticipated the practices and structure of big business in the late nineteenth century.

Undoubtedly the structure looked more efficient than it actually was. Court favoritism, political influences, or nepotism played major roles in appointments, and men with such connections were not easily removed for ineptitude. Sales quotas and incentive pay for sales above average, however, probably aided managerial efficiency from 1738 on. Price devotes many pages to the smuggling of tobacco, which was as much or more of a problem than the ills of bureaucracy.

Business historians will probably think that this first section makes the major scholarly contribution. While detail is at times overwhelming and interpretation sparse, since Price does not believe in what he regards as theoretical oversimplifications, he brings business and economic history to new areas and problems. The thoroughly researched and documented last two sections give new detail to what specialists already know in broad outline.

A criticism of the title selected rather than the research is that the Chesapeake scarcely enters the narrative, save indirectly as a source of tobacco. There is relatively little discussion of the American domestic situation, even after the Revolution brought more direct trade. The study deals throughout with the French monopoly and its government relations. Actually, the direct trade with France failed to grow greatly after 1783. The French lacked goods to export to the United States or mercantile credit to carry the Virginia and Maryland planters from one year to the next, so the Southerners resumed trade relations with their erstwhile enemies.

The well over five hundred thousand words with a multitude of tables and charts, plus extensive notes and nearly a hundred pages of index, make these two volumes one of the major works by an American in the fields of economic or business history. They open up an area of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century business scarcely touched on, hitherto, in any secondary works and, I feel sure, almost completely unknown to American historians.

THOMAS C. COCHRAN
University of Pennsylvania

OLA ELIZABETH WINSLOW. *A Destroying Angel: The Conquest of Smallpox in Colonial Boston.*

Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1974. Pp. x, 137. \$5.95.

MICHAEL M. SMITH. *The "Real Expedición Marítima de la Vacuna" in New Spain and Guatemala.* (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, volume 64, part 1.) Philadelphia: the Society. 1974. Pp. 74. \$4.00.

These two works relate to efforts to end the deadly menace of smallpox in the Americas. One discusses the introduction of inoculation (variolation) and vaccination in New England, the other vaccination only in Spanish dominions. They contrast strikingly modes of action in the two cultures.

After setting the medical scene, Miss Winslow gives primary attention to the introduction of inoculation by Cotton Mather and Zabdiel Boylston in Boston in 1721. This familiar story is told largely in terms of personal conflict, though the extensive pamphlet literature is also reviewed. A brief chapter on inoculation during the remainder of the eighteenth century, highlighted by dramatic incidents at Marblehead and Salem, is followed by a chapter each on Edward Jenner, the English discoverer of vaccination, and Benjamin Waterhouse, who first used it in Boston. The picture painted is one of individual initiative by hero-physicians.

Mr. Smith, after briefly describing the medical background and Jenner's discovery, sets forth in detail the conception, organization, progress, and results of the royal expedition led by Francisco Xavier de Balmis y Berenguer to introduce and disseminate vaccination in the Caribbean area, Mexico, and the Philippines. In contrast to the experience of Boston, the Spanish-American effort was strongly supported by the central Spanish government with both money and appropriate orders to colonial officials. Despite many administrative and technical difficulties, Balmis and his assistants brought the vaccine to New Spain, vaccinated thousands, and taught local physicians how to carry on after they left. In several instances, local officials anticipated Balmis by securing vaccine elsewhere, which wounded his sensitive pride and often led to strained relations. Purely private initiative, however, nowhere played a significant role.

The role of government in New England, much less than in New Spain, was not as slight as Winslow's account would lead us to believe. As the eighteenth century wore on, the government increasingly regulated the use of inoculation for the benefit of the public health. This aspect is neglected by Winslow, who treats lightly the danger that inoculation would transmit virulent smallpox to others. Nor does she

carry the history of vaccination far enough to include the efforts of the towns of Massachusetts to promote its use by corporate action. Regrettably one must also point out that Winslow's book suffers from an inadequate background in medical history and from insufficient attention to original sources and existing secondary literature. So far as one can judge from her text, notes, or bibliography she has not used Genevieve Miller's book on the subject (1957) in her discussion of inoculation in Europe; Perry Miller's chapter on inoculation in *The New England Mind: From Colony to Province* (1953), which is perhaps the reason she ignores the religious issues Miller so brilliantly explored; or my book on Benjamin Waterhouse (1957). Her bibliography does not include a single article from the several specialty journals in the history of medicine. Others have already covered her subject more accurately and completely.

Smith's work, in contrast, is solidly based on original archival sources and adds both information and balance to the chief previous account in English by S. F. Cook in 1942. Although sometimes a bit overwhelming in details of minor importance, it is a commendable presentation of an important and relatively little-explored early effort to promote the public health by disseminating a medical discovery through governmental action.

JOHN B. BLAKE
National Library of Medicine

H. LEWIS MCKINNEY. *Wallace and Natural Selection*. (Yale Studies in the History of Science and Medicine, 8.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 1972. Pp. xix, 193. \$12.50.

To the claims that Charles Darwin did not readily acknowledge his intellectual debts or that he plagiarized, H. Lewis McKinney adds a new twist in *Wallace and Natural Selection*: Darwin was not only influenced by Wallace more than he cared to admit and dissembled the fact, but Wallace too was a liar, a man anxious to establish his reputation as a scientist even at the cost of honesty. McKinney argues from circumstantial evidence that Wallace lied about where in the East Indies he first thought of natural selection in order to associate the discovery with a famous and colorful spice island. That this deception supposedly "helps us to understand better the later 'aberrations' of Wallace," which reflect the "Jekyll side of his character"—his interest in spiritualism, socialism, the antivaccination campaign, and land nationalization—says more about McKinney's shortcomings as a

biographer than about Wallace as a radical thinker.

Darwin-Wallace studies have been distorted by a paranoid style of interpretation given respectability by Loren Eiseley sixteen years ago during the centennial celebration of the publication of *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection*. For one who suspects that Darwin stole ideas and destroyed evidence of the thefts, as Eiseley claims, the history of natural selection becomes a detective story with criminal, victims, and clues. Although he argues briefly against Eiseley's charge that Darwin plagiarized the ideas of Edward Blyth, McKinney succumbs to this mode of inquiry.

According to McKinney, the publication in 1855 of Wallace's paper "On the Law Which Has Regulated the Introduction of New Species" had a profound effect on Darwin and Charles Lyell. Sensing that Wallace was close to a theory of organic change, Lyell warned Darwin in a conversation on April 16, 1856, that he had better publish his theory of natural selection quickly or risk losing priority of discovery. McKinney neglects, however, another issue as important as priority, which Lyell raised with Darwin in a letter of May 1, 1856—the need for Darwin to publish a fragment of his data, and as Lyell put it, "& so out with the theory & let it take date—& be cited—& understood." Lyell was saying Darwin had an obligation to present his ideas for scrutiny by other scientists. Believing that a sketch of his theory without the supporting evidence would be unconvincing, Darwin reluctantly followed Lyell's advice, but soon abandoned the project in order to write the long work he later abstracted and published in 1859 as *On the Origin of Species*.

What Darwin owes Wallace is arguable. McKinney suggests that in the two weeks Darwin supposedly had in his secret possession Wallace's paper of 1858 expounding a theory of natural selection, he may have obtained insights into the problem of divergence and used them in his own work without acknowledgment. A close examination of the evidence McKinney offers—postmarks he says indicate when Wallace sent from the East Indies and when Darwin received in England the 1858 paper—and uncertainty about the dates of key Darwin letters undermine McKinney's thesis and its implication that Darwin lied and plagiarized. McKinney has rendered an important service by tracing the evolution of Wallace's ideas, but they can stand very well on their own without the claim for their "profound influence" on Darwin.

HAROLD FRUCHTBAUM
Columbia University

STEPHEN E. PELZ. *Race to Pearl Harbor: The Failure of the Second London Naval Conference and the Onset of World War II*. (Harvard Studies in American-East Asian Relations, 5.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1974. Pp. vii, 268. \$17.50.

This book is essentially a study of naval rivalry between Japan, the United States, and Great Britain from the aftermath of the London Naval Conference of 1930 to the outbreak of war among the three nations. Japanese naval authorities were displeased with the established ratios and were successful in persuading the government to insist on more favorable terms at the parley scheduled for 1935. The United States was determined to maintain the existing equilibrium and reduce total tonnage, while Great Britain sought a compromise that would enable her to build more cruisers. The naval race reflected the international situation and the aspirations of the protagonists, with Japan bent on expanding her influence in the Pacific, the United States striving to maintain the status quo, and Great Britain faced with threats in Europe and the Far East. The second London Conference was followed by unbridled competition, with Great Britain financially unable to meet the Japanese challenge, to which the United States responded by a series of building programs.

So much for the familiar outline, but the author is not content with merely telling what happened and how, namely the intricate civil-military machinations in each nation and the labored negotiations between representatives. Carefully explained is the "why" of the naval limitation positions, most notably that of Japan, with details of strategy and the predominate role played by the navy in political and military policy. While the author's contention that the breakdown of disarmament led to subsequent developments and war may not be sustained (actually, he demonstrates that armaments were a symptom not a cause), his use of Japanese-language sources and British and American archival material provides new insights on the events that produced a world conflict.

RAYMOND G. O'CONNOR
University of Miami,
Coral Gables

RICHARD HISCOCKS. *The Security Council: A Study in Adolescence*. New York: Free Press. 1973. Pp. 371. \$8.95.

In this closely packed volume, the distinguished professor emeritus of international relations at

the University of Sussex and author of several books on Central Europe—who has also performed yeoman diplomatic service—attempts a general assessment of the United Nations Security Council from January 1946 to April 1972. The first three chapters provide a brief review of the age-old quest for machinery to maintain peace, of the experience of the League of Nations, and of the powers of the Security Council—as they appeared in the Charter and as they evolved in practice. A fourth discusses procedural problems: the veto, participation by nonmember states, use of the consensual approach, and the consequences of enlargement—especially the greater role of the Afro-Asian group. The fifth and longest chapter, occupying almost half the text, examines the council's record on peacemaking and peacekeeping. The treatment is largely geographical under such headings as the Middle East, Korea, India and Pakistan, Vietnam and its neighbors, the United States and Latin America, Africa, and Cyprus. Building upon that survey, the next three chapters consider the council as a forum and a rendezvous, its ability to improvise peacekeeping forces in a crisis, and its changing relationships with the General Assembly. A final chapter offers the author's personal views on the council's future and on the measures that are needed to further its satisfactory development.

It is difficult to discover from internal evidence the author's nationality. His useful book is fair in judgments, dispassionate in tone, and optimistic in outlook. It is based on a wide reading of printed materials, on first-hand observation, and on conversations with participants who are not always identified. It contains a full bibliography and an excellent index, though the former would have benefited from a more careful proof-reading of proper names.

RICHARD W. LEOPOLD
Northwestern University

SYLVIA K. CROSBIE. *A Tacit Alliance: France and Israel from Suez to the Six Day War*. (The Modern Middle East Series, volume 7. Sponsored by the Middle East Institute, Columbia University.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1974. Pp. xiii, 280. \$13.50.

Israel's French connection is shrouded in secrecy. Sylvia Crosbie has done much to uncover it by piecing together bits of evidence. The "tacit alliance" was at its height from approximately 1955 to 1963. Franco-Israeli cooperation in the 1956 Suez War played a major role, but the continuing focus of the alliance was the con-

nection in weapons supply and military technology.

France helped Israel even before that state existed. Crosbie traces the connection to 1946–48, when Ben Gurion used France as a headquarters and a source of arms. Gradually Israel found France willing to sell more, partly to use Israel as a counter to the Baghdad Pact and to Arab-aided Algerian rebellion, and partly to spur her own airplane production. If the book has a thesis, it is that the connection bypassed the foreign ministries in both countries, going directly from one defense establishment to the other. This was possible, says Crosbie, because French bureaucracy was fragmented. It was possible also because Ben Gurion and Shimon Peres operated autonomously on the Israeli side. When those two went out of office and when de Gaulle began a more balanced French policy, the connection began to wither. It ended with de Gaulle's embargo on plane deliveries in 1967.

Crosbie's evidence comes from newspapers, technical and trade journals, memoirs, and from interviews conducted in 1969 with both French and Israeli officials. Though many respondents were cautious, some French in particular gave valuable information. Crosbie can therefore add to the known story of the secret planning for the Suez War as well as to accounts of conventional and nuclear technological cooperation. She is a former employee of the Israeli Foreign Ministry and parades no exposé of security secrets, but she is studiously objective.

There is obviously more to know. This is a bare-bones account, lacking the flesh and blood of who in Israel negotiated what deal with whom in France, how and where and why. The why seems to include some prominent Frenchmen, both in government and in industry, who were Jews sympathetic to Israel, but Crosbie barely touches on this. The final result is a good account, better in its research than in its organization and writing, and unfortunately marred by the erratic use of "Israel" as an adjective—"Israeli leaders" and "Israeli pounds," but "Israel security" and "Israel plans." A member of the France Academy would shudder.

RODERIC H. DAVISON

George Washington University

ANCIENT

FERDINANDO CASTAGNOLI. *Orthogonal Town Planning in Antiquity*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press. 1971. Pp. 138. \$12.50.

This book is translated from the Italian *Ippodamo di Mileto e l'Urbanistica a Pianta Orthog-*

onale (1956). To this older text the author has added an appendix (1970) that brings up to date his earlier discussions, both general and of specific cities, and his bibliographical references. His argument is that Hippodamus (fifth century B.C.) represents a phase, albeit an important one, in a tradition of regular urban design that reaches back into the ancient Near East, including Egypt, and into the Minoan-Mycenean era in Greece. Nevertheless he holds (p. 124, cf. p. 57) that orthogonal design, which is found in Greece as early as the sixth century B.C., may have been a natural development from the intersection of straight streets and not an influence from further east.

The earliest Greek and Italic cities, notably Athens and Rome, were irregular in design. The appearance of regular design indicates a conscious approach to general city planning, which involved considerations of health and of egalitarian housing, as well as of defense. Regular designs were orthogonal—not circular or radial—in character. They might be simply rectangular, with streets equally wide running in both directions at right angles. Or they might have a grid pattern with emphasis on principal streets in one direction with lesser streets in the other. Or they might be axial, with intersecting main streets. Hippodamus may have contributed the following: the consideration of exposure to the weather, from studies of the effect of climate on health made by the Hippocratean school of medicine; attention to the democratic implications of egalitarian housing; and perhaps the grid pattern, in which main streets divide the short ends of oblong blocks and narrower alleys their longer sides, with squares or public buildings incorporated into the design.

While Etruscan and Italic cities show a variety of orthogonal design imitated from contemporary Greek cities, the Romans increasingly adopted an axial plan, which emphasized a central main street crossed by one or two main cross streets and with a square off center at the crossing. This design is best known from the Roman camp. Since modern scholarship doubts the derivation of the Roman camp from early Italic (*terramare*) village design, Castagnoli accepts Polybius' statement that Roman camps were first developed during the Pyrrhic War of the early third century B.C. (p. 120). If so, their design reflected that of contemporary axial Greek cities, rather than having served as the model for Roman colonies.

This useful, if specialized, study of ancient urban design is well equipped with clear plans of many ancient orthogonal cities. Bibliographical references are in the notes and there is no

index. Historians of urban design will find here a useful collection of material sensibly analyzed. General ancient historians will note the relationship suggested between urban design and social considerations of health and of democratic housing (pp. 61-63).

MASON HAMMOND
Harvard University

ROGER ALAIN DE LAIX. *Probouleusis at Athens: A Study of Political Decision-Making*. (University of California Publications in History, volume 83.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1973. Pp. xii, 223. \$6.00.

This is a worthy study in a great tradition. Originally a Princeton Ph.D. thesis (1967) under J. V. A. Fine, it looks back on many predecessors: the nineteen principal ones who are named (p. vii) include one American, J. A. O. Larsen. Currently there is much activity. *Probouleusis* was ready to print in June 1971. It was possible to take account (p. 206) of some works of 1971 but only to mention others. The following should now be listed. Homer A. Thompson and R. E. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora*, XIV: *The Agora of Athens* (1972); B. D. Meritt and J. S. Traill, *The Athenian Agora*, XV: *Inscriptions: The Athenian Councillors* (1975) (de Laix did not know that this, though by different authors, is a version of the work he mentions [p. 153, n. 36] as having been promised); J. S. Traill, *The Political Geography of Attica* (*Hesperia*, Supp. 14, 1975); and, not least, on de Laix's subject but broader, Peter J. Rhodes, *The Athenian Boule* (1972). Another major work, John K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families* (1971), also had to be omitted.

In the Athenian democracy, the assembly (Ekklesia), being open to all citizens, was so large that a council (the Boule of 500) was necessary to prepare business for it. The activity of the Boule in preparing business for the Ekklesia was *probouleusis*. Essentially, de Laix seeks an answer to the question: To what extent did preparation by the Boule determine decisions by the Ekklesia?

Moderate in most of his views, and cautious—sometimes cramped by caution—at the end de Laix comes out strong for the positive importance of the Boule. "Never," he says, speaking of the fifth century B.C., "never is there conclusive evidence for completely independent action by the demos [Ekklesia] in the legislative sphere." When it came to policy, the Boule was the chief organ of government (p. 192). "Probouleusis was the single most important aspect

of the Athenian legislative process" (p. 194). This finality may or may not prove, so to speak, to be final, but the spirit of the book is a spirit of eagerness and openness toward final truth.

The book does have limitations, mainly three. First, so as to deal with Athens only while it was wholly free, de Laix stops at 322 B.C. The process—though not the content—of *probouleusis* was essentially the same, however, in the post-322 periods of Macedonian domination. The hundreds of Hellenistic inscriptions modify and add importantly. Rhodes's book on the Boule goes all the way to the (Late Roman) end. Second, the specific evidence used for the period *ante-322* is largely inscriptions. Of all the odd things (for me at least) to say: for once the inscriptions mislead. In most of Thucydides and Xenophon, it is the Ekklesia which dominates in the important decisions. Usually the Boule is scarcely mentioned. De Laix realized this (pp. 27-29), but he seems not to have realized fully that the important month-to-month decisions about action, and even, in the main, about policy, were not decisions which would be inscribed. Despite obvious advantages, the categorical division into "Part 1 Historical" and "Part 2 Epigraphical" may not be wholesome. But on all this, Rhodes agrees (*Boule*, p. 213) more nearly with de Laix, and they may be right. Third, anyone who has sat in faculty meetings of even two hundred will know how cumbersome, difficult, and even hazardous it is for so many persons—professors, to be sure—to decide on policy, not to mention on verbal formulations. It is plausible to suppose, more strongly than by de Laix (pp. 161-64), that often in Athens it was not the Boule of 500, but the fifty Prytaneis, who carried out the real *probouleusis*.

STERLING DOW
Boston College

LUISA BANTI. *Etruscan Cities and Their Culture*. Translated by ERIKA BIZZARRI. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1973. Pp. vi, 322. \$14.50.

WERNER KELLER. *The Etruscans*. Translated from the German by ALEXANDER and ELIZABETH HENDERSON. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1974. Pp. xiv, 435. \$12.50.

These two volumes are complementary only in that they take us in search of the culture of the most fascinating and mysterious of all ancient peoples. Luisa Banti has previously written *Il Mondo degli Etruschi* (1960) and has served as president of the Institute for Etruscan and

Italic Studies at Florence. Werner Keller is one of Germany's best-selling authors. His books include *The Bible as History* (1956); *East Minus West = Zero* (1962), a study of Russian influences in Western culture; and *Diaspora* (1969), a history of the Jewish people from post-Biblical times to the present.

The substance of Banti's study is to reconstruct partially the history of the individual Etruscan cities. The author is markedly skeptical of literary sources because the ancient writers were more interested in legends about the Etruscans than in factual history. "The safest historical source for Etruria is the objects found in tombs, as long as they are studied impartially without preconceived theories and without neglecting artistically uninteresting objects in favour of the finer, more striking examples. They are the only truly Etruscan source and the only one unaltered by personal ideas, or by interpretations and prejudices of the ancient writers whose works we use as historical sources" (p. 179). Thus using archeological finds as her archive documents, Banti most carefully investigates the Etruscan's beginnings, their economics, their crafts and art, the intercity relationships, their overseas commerce, and their local culture.

The opus is divided into an examination of the vicinity of southern Etruria, which included the cities of Caere, Veii, and Tarquinii; the area of central Etruria, which comprised the cities of Saturnia, Marsiliana, and Volsinii; and the region of northern Etruria, which encompassed the cities of Vetulonia, Rusellae, Populonia, and Volterra. The writer considers the question of the ancient cities' location and boundaries, the historical references to them, and the strictest interpretation of the vast amount of material found in their tombs. There are also broad chapters on Etruscan art, religion, language, history, and government. Concerning Etruscan religion, Banti states, "We have no idea of Etruscan private spiritual devotion, of the individual attitude towards the gods, of man's intimate feelings for his divinity, in other words of what we consider 'religion'" (p. 189). The text reads extremely well and contains ninety-six pages of annotated illustrations of the finest works in Etruscan art. This book is a most welcome addition to the corpus of Etruschology.

Basing his research upon archeological evidence and the brief observations and comments of the ancient Greek and Roman authors, Keller has attempted to put together a general history of the Etruscan civilization. He presents the ancient people of Etruria from the earliest rec-

ord of their appearance in central Italy; through the development of their culture from Campania in the south to the Po Valley in the north; to their assimilation by the Romans, whose civilization the Etruscans helped found and nurture. The author has spent ten years investigating every known literary reference and has journeyed to every known Etruscan site in Italy. But, as indicated above, Keller is a best-selling author and not a trained Etruschologist. Although he possesses a very readable and romantic style, the major weakness of the book is that the writer has substantially based the opus upon established literary tradition. Delightful for the average reader, the serious student of the ancient Etruscans will have little use for this new volume.

STEPHEN J. SIMON

Appalachian State University

UNTO PAANANEN. *Sallust's Politico-Social Terminology: Its Use and Biographical Significance*. (Suomalaisen Tiedakatemia Toimituksia, Series B, number 175.) Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedakatemia. 1972. Pp. 127. 18 M.

Dealing as they do with the basic conflicts in Roman politics and society of the era of the decline of the Republic, Sallust's monographs on the Jugurthine War and the conspiracy of Catiline, and the preserved fragments of his history, have been of special value for the way in which they illustrate the vocabulary of the political concepts that formed the armory of the protagonists in the struggle between the entrenched interests and the forces working for change. In any such contest, terms can be made to serve, on occasion, as "good" words or "bad" words. In Roman politics, the effect of the peculiar structure of Roman society was that vocabulary of this kind carried implications of social position and class attitudes as well as specifically political meanings.

Scholars have explored these terms under various aspects. The author of the present study undertakes to review a particular set of concepts, namely, *populus*, *plebs*, *nobilis*, *nobilitas*, *pauci*, *factio*, *factiosus*, *partes*, *boni* (*bonus*, *optimus*), *homo novus*. In addition to the analysis of the political and social meanings, the author is concerned to discover what light Sallust's usages throw on his own attitudes and his personal history. The terms were, as one would expect, capable of being differently interpreted by different protagonists, and Sallust's own usage exhibits significant variations.

Within its stated limits, the study is useful for its analysis of the texts, and it provides a conspectus of previous studies. The reader will note, however, that the author, as is his privilege, has chosen not to include an investigation of other terms—*virtus*, *dignitas*, *libertas*—that were among the most powerful concepts, here as elsewhere in the Roman political vocabulary.

GLANVILLE DOWNEY
Indiana University,
Bloomington

MEDIEVAL

GEORGES DUBY. *The Early Growth of the European Economy: Warriors and Peasants from the Seventh to the Twelfth Century*. Translated by HOWARD B. CLARKE. (World Economic History.) Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1974. Pp. x, 292. \$10.00.

Professor Georges Duby is well known for his studies on the agrarian economy of Western Europe during the Middle Ages. In this book he uses much of the same material, but with the hypothesis, suggested in the subtitle, that the warring landlords and their peasants were the dominant economic force in the early Middle Ages. Historical sources are sparse for several centuries, and, according to the author, they have been frequently misinterpreted by economic historians who overemphasize the importance of trade and industry.

The volume begins with the seventh century because various features showed enough potentiality to maintain the landowning warrior class. The increase in cultivated and grazing lands, the more frequent plowings and rotation of crops, the replacement of slaves by dependent tenants, and the growth of population increased agrarian production to the advantage of the landowners, though not of the peasants. Under the Carolingians, military plunder ceased to be a great source of income and the imperial and papal aim to promote peace and safety served as a deterrent. The Carolingian and Saxon emperors introduced a new coinage system and instituted new markets and fairs with provisions for justice and equity to gain income from the incipient trade.

In Duby's argument the feudal system reached maturity in Gaul in the late eleventh century, in Germany somewhat later, because of the inability of the rulers to provide adequate defense against Arab and Viking attacks. Consequently ordinary functions of government were

assumed by the local feudal lords. Their increased political control was matched by such developments as the improved iron plow, the use of horses with better harness for plowing, the appearance of water mills and bread ovens, greater cereal production, the cultivation of more land personally held by the peasants, and commutation of services. All resulted in greater income of the lords through various taxes and dues, collected—often extorted—from the peasants on the basis of banal lordship. Duby concludes with the late twelfth century—he specifies 1180—because the urban businessman, whose income ensued from commerce and industry, rose to eminence, while the landowner and peasant took on less dominant, supportive roles.

The volume has an excellent index, a select reading list, and several maps and figures. The Paul Valéry Prize was awarded to the original version of the book, whose French title, curiously enough, is not given.

HILMAR C. KRUEGER
University of Cincinnati

JOHN BARNIE. *War in Medieval English Society: Social Values in the Hundred Years War 1337-99*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1974. Pp. xiii, 204. \$10.00.

The author, John Barnie, lecturer in English literature at the Copenhagen University, has rendered a signal service to all who would believe that military history can be confined within the simple framework of strategy, tactics, and logistics. Dr. Barnie has contributed an original, scholarly, and highly readable study that makes a significant contribution to our understanding of English society during the war years 1337-99. It is not that the author has discovered new and revealing documents; his principal sources have long been known. Hitherto, however, they have been utilized chiefly by students of Middle English and those interested in fourteenth-century English Latin literature. But, as Barnie has convincingly demonstrated, these poems, sermons, and tracts in Latin and in the vernacular—aristocratic, clerical, and plebeian in origin—also reflect the attitude of the literate strata of English society to the war with France, and to its effects on the English people. In chapter 7 of his masterly *Organization of War under Edward III, 1338-1362* (1966), H. J. Hewitt touched briefly on the problems dealt with in depth by Barnie. Hewitt, brilliant though his analysis is, was

obviously unfamiliar with many of the sources that, here, have yielded valuable information. To date, this is the first attempt in English to illustrate the impact of war on any European society in such detail. As a pioneering effort, the author's conclusions will undoubtedly draw criticism; as to its significance there can be no doubt.

The only shortcoming of *War in Medieval English Society* is the lack of a conclusion that would tie together all the current opinion about the war. The reader, however, can do this with little difficulty. This is a study with widespread appeal. Military and social historians will find it invaluable. Students of the development of political institutions will find much of interest in the impact of vocal opposition to the war on the nascent opposition to royal policy that emerged in the Commons during the 1370s and 1380s. It might not be too much to hope that historians of the evolution of English literature, and even sociologists, will read Dr. Barnie's study with profit.

JOHN BEELER

University of North Carolina,
Greensboro

KATHLEEN COHEN. *Metamorphosis of a Death Symbol: The Transi Tomb in the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance*. (California Studies in the History of Art, 15.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1973. Pp. xv, 215. \$30.00.

Recumbent tomb effigies of the later Middle Ages, known as *gisants*, are usually represented either awake or asleep and are depicted in worldly garments. Mrs. Cohen's study focuses on a small subgroup of reclining sepulchral figures that are shown specifically as corpses. The author suggests that these distinctive monuments be known as *transi* from the Old French use of the verb *transir*, in the sense of "to pass away."

According to the author, the phenomenon of a nude or shroud-wrapped representation of the deceased appeared in art initially during the last decade of the fourteenth century (5 examples) and peaked in popularity during the sixteenth century (155 examples). An appendix to the study, listing some two hundred known monuments, indicates that the type proliferated in the north of Europe and enjoyed distinct regional variation. The sixty-one *transi* attributed to France include three of the earliest tombs of this type and two-thirds of the seventeen in

which worms accompany the corpse. Half of the thirty-six German effigies, all dating from the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, show snakes and other reptiles gnawing at the bodies. Among the twenty *transi* associated by the author with the Lowlands, only the extraordinary early sixteenth-century tombs of Marguerite of Austria and Philbert the Fair of Savoy, elaborately sculpted for the Church of Brou at Bourg-en-Bresse in Burgundy, are singled out for attention.

Eighty-two *transi* are enumerated in England. The version preferred there until the seventeenth century showed an enshrouded corpse placed beneath a traditional clothed *gisant* in a two-tiered arrangement. Mrs. Cohen draws on Ernst Kantorowicz's suggestion in *The King's Two Bodies* that the inspiration for this tomb type came from the practice of displaying a clothed, wooden effigy along with the corpse at the funerals of English kings beginning with that of Edward II in 1327. Kantorowicz hypothesized that the double representation at the funeral contrasted the mortality of the man with the lasting dignity of his high office. Cohen accepts his argument and transfers it to the sepulcher, appropriately entitling her chapter on the earliest double *transi* tombs "Worldly Power and Food for Worms."

The book is in essence a series of cultural rather than art-historical studies of a few well-documented tombs, each of which includes, as part of an extensive array of carvings, a representation of the deceased as dead. The study is interesting for the details of customs it collects as well as for the chance it provides to review a group of little-known sculptures. But in her effort to interpret the whole monument from the perspective of the carved corpse, Mrs. Cohen relies primarily on the evidence of epitaphs and rituals. Basic questions concerning visual precedents are given scant consideration. More attention might have been paid to the dramatic appearance of the corpse motif in the art of the waning Middle Ages; discussion of the role of Gothic tomb architecture within the changing fabric of Church iconography is sorely missed. Only exceptionally, Cohen suggests, was the representation of the cadaver intended as a *memento mori* or warning to the living. Her volume is a labored defense of the thesis that the *transi* tomb's changing context and significance perpetuated the traditional focus of Christian funerary sculpture, the salvation of the deceased.

LINDA SEIDEL

Harvard University

JOHN HATCHER. *English Tin Production and Trade before 1550*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1973. Pp. x, 219. \$19.25.

Specialists in late medieval and early modern British history will find Dr. Hatcher's study of English tin useful. It is exactly the sort of work that will serve as the base for a good lecture on tin in an economic history course or for the importance of tin to England's economic development in more general medieval and Tudor history courses. Hatcher has ransacked libraries and manuscript repositories for all available sources of information and has produced a terse, well-written account.

The work is divided into six chapters and two appendixes covering production and trade patterns, uses of tin, capital and labor in the stannaries, overseas trade, and internal trade. The appendixes contain five carefully worked out tables of tin production from 1156 to 1549 and tin and pewter exports from 1384 to 1547. Thirteen additional tables in the text illustrate all aspects of tin production and export including analyses of tin coinage rolls from 1301 to 1520, various aspects of export, production, and price. Hatcher's work represents that genre of specialized economic studies which is providing us with the data to add, modify, and correct the works of W. H. Beveridge, G. R. Lewis, J. E. T. Rogers, L. F. Salzman, and R. H. Tawney. Of particular interest is Hatcher's observation that wage labor was prevalent in fourteenth-century stannaries long before Tawney saw there in the sixteenth century "an outburst of capitalist enterprise." Students of the history of women and of childhood will also learn that "a large part of the labour force was made up of women and children." For further details they are referred to Hatcher's earlier *Rural Economy and Society in the Duchy of Cornwall, 1300-1500* (1970). Hatcher intends to follow his present work with "a detailed explanation of the vicissitudes of the English tin mining industry in the Middle Ages." When complete, the three volumes will constitute a thorough-going revision of G. R. Lewis's *The Stannaries: A Study of the Medieval Tin Miners of Devon and Cornwall* (1903) and a significant contribution to the writing of England's economic history.

M. J. TUCKER
State University of New York,
Buffalo

R. M. THOMSON, edited and translated by. *The Chronicle of the Election of Hugh, Abbot of Bury St. Edmunds and Later Bishop of Ely*.

(Oxford Medieval Texts.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1974. Pp. li, 208. \$19.25.

The abbey of Bury St. Edmunds was the center of a school of history that rivals the later and better known St. Albans group of historians. The Bury historians wrote a type of work relatively rare in medieval historiography: the short monograph centering on one particular person or happening. One example is Jocelin of Brakelond's chronicle, describing the life of the abbey under Abbot Samson. Now Rodney Thomson with his edition and translation of the *Electio Hugonis* makes accessible another example. *The Chronicle of the Election of Abbot Hugh* is, according to Thomson, "the most detailed eyewitness account of an English monastic dispute extant." It describes the struggles of the monks, 1212-15, when a disputed election divided them into two factions.

Thomson provides a critical edition of the text, a readable English translation, and useful appendixes. In addition, his introduction places the *Electio* in its historiographical context, reveals its author's purpose, and indicates its value to students today. The dispute arose when certain monks sought to elect Hugh of Northwold without royal approval, leading a more conservative faction to dispute the election. Thomson sees the *Electio* as "a moral tale," seeking to show the folly of those who resisted the election of Hugh. He also sees the struggle as an illustration of conflict between the two powers—*regnum* and *sacerdotium*—affecting individuals, the divided monks. He finds Hugh's partisans to be younger, influenced by the propapalist teachings of the schools, while his opponents were older, more willing to accommodate themselves to the realities of the royal power.

The editor touches on other points, for example, the role of Bury St. Edmunds in the rebellion against King John. Certainly Hugh's opponents accused him of working against the king, and Thomson finds that Bury St. Edmunds was the site for a meeting of Stephen Langton and discontented barons in the autumn of 1214 (app. 4). In sum, this edition is a worthy addition to the Oxford Medieval Texts series.

RALPH V. TURNER
Florida State University

ALAN H. NELSON. *The Medieval English Stage: Corpus Christi Pageants and Plays*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1974. Pp. xiv, 274. \$12.50.

Since this book is firmly based on local records it is of some interest to historians. Like recent

studies in late medieval English manorial history it reveals wide variations in local custom. Unfortunately, only a small proportion of the "cyclic" or "Corpus Christi" drama referred to in existing records has survived, so that scholarship concerning many problems connected with the plays has often been speculative. Professor Nelson here seeks to correct certain widely accepted views and especially to give us more reliable information concerning the actual presentation of the plays.

Perhaps the most significant contribution Professor Nelson makes is his demonstration that the full York cycle as revised in the mid-fifteenth century could not have been presented at stations along the processional route, as the plays at Coventry were, because of limitations in time. He adduces evidence to show that the plays, as distinct from pageants, were presented after the procession indoors before a select group of civic officials. A similar situation, he affirms, prevailed elsewhere.

A variety of local customs appears in Professor Nelson's careful examination of records at Wakefield, Beverley, Lincoln, Norwich, Coventry, Chester, and London. In the capital the plays were presented outdoors at a single location by the parish clerks of the city rather than by the gilds. Briefer attention is given to a number of "miscellaneous towns and cities," some of which enjoyed pageants alone, some staged plays unrelated to the cyclic plays, and some presented full cycles. The surviving evidence is not always conclusive, but Professor Nelson's book should make us much more hesitant to generalize about the presentation of medieval English plays.

D. W. ROBERTSON, JR.
Princeton University

MARJORIE O. ANDERSON. *Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland*. Totowa, N.J.: Rowman and Littlefield. 1973. Pp. xviii, 310. \$13.50.

From the outset of Marjorie Anderson's work, two points become clear to the reader attempting to deal with this complicated and highly specialized study. First, it is certain that the author is highly knowledgeable concerning the sources, manuscripts and fragments, that make up the corpus of evidence on early Scots history. Second, it is equally obvious that Anderson has failed to evolve any meaningful historical pattern or interpretation from her material. She has devoted too much of her work to an erudite but sterile pursuit of names and shadows, that is, kings and dates in both Scotland and Ireland

whose listing is of little value without some idea of their role and power, or lack thereof. The reader is left with the unanswered question: were these men but a series of hill and clan chiefs, arrogating unto themselves an unwarranted higher dignity, or was there a society of sufficient strength and sophistication in Pictland and the lands of the DálRiatan Scots to make this assumption of royalty necessary and significant?

For purposes of comparisons, it is necessary to place Anderson's work in the lists with the brilliant syntheses of G. W. S. Barrow on Robert Bruce and the idea of *communitas regni* in Scotland, as well as with his new book on the kingdom of the Scots from the eleventh to the fourteenth century. In each of these works, Barrow has made a rigorous examination of kingship, both personal and institutional, within the reference frame of the kingdom, society, and people of Scotland. Anderson's work is completely lacking in these regards, although fairness requires a note of caution concerning the type of sources available to her and the very early period with which she is working. But others have shown that the murky world of savage conquest and unstable petty kingdoms that marks the evolution of post-Roman Britain can be interpreted and stylized with force, clarity, and very considerable value to the reader not previously immersed in the scholarly and critical apparatus of the period. In this regard, one has only to recall the recent work of D. P. Kirby, *The Making of Early England* (1968). Despite the chaotic nature of his sources, Kirby struck a fine balance between erudition and utility in his balanced exegesis of Anglo-Saxon England through the time of Alfred of Wessex. In comparison, Anderson has given us nothing but an erudition that is admirable, even formidable, in its control of research apparatus, but empty of value as historical narrative or societal analysis. Marjorie Anderson has listed the kings of early Scotland up to the absorption of the Picts by Kenneth MacAlpin of the DálRiatan line. Others must now evaluate the substance of their kingship.

REGINALD BRILL
Princeton University

RANALD NICHOLSON. *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages*. (The Edinburgh History of Scotland, volume 2.) New York: Barnes and Noble. 1974. Pp. xvi, 695. \$25.00.

In this book, the second of the four-volume Edinburgh History of Scotland, and the third

to appear, Professor Nicholson has undertaken the daunting task of covering the period from Alexander III's fatal accident in 1286, which led to the wars of independence, to the death of James IV in 1513 at the hands of the auld enemy. This book is half again as long as the third and fourth volumes; even so, there are a number of matters the author has treated in less detail than one would have wished. Politics, administration, and diplomacy get most of Nicholson's attention; he handles them with great clarity and skill. He does not share G. W. S. Barrow's high opinion of Bruce, whose bid for the throne he calls "rash, self-willed, and premature" (p. 71). Nor does he admire the other two kings of this period whom previous historians have praised. James I was greedy and ruthless and practiced "a sort of medieval totalitarianism" (p. 305); James IV emerges as thoughtless and extravagant, though by no means stupid. On the other hand, Nicholson agrees with Bruce Webster in praising David II, who turned the military misfortune that left him owing a large ransom to Edward III into a system of taxation, which was very profitable to the Crown. The reign of James III gets more space than any other. That king remains as enigmatic as ever, but Nicholson's discussion of institutional and economic developments in his reign is especially valuable. Parliament in particular met more often than before, or after, though its effectiveness was limited by the prevailing contempt for law and order, which James's laziness did nothing to dispel. On the other hand, Nicholson's treatment of the important reign of James IV is brief and rather disappointing. The reader is left with the feeling that the author was looking at the light at the end of his long tunnel and hastening to get there.

The basic framework of the book is chronological political narrative, interspersed with occasional chapters and sections of chapters on social, economic, and cultural matters. More of the latter would have been welcome. So too would have been a chapter or more devoted to the Church. Nicholson does not neglect the Church, but for the most part he treats it in a political context; there is much about papal politics and very little about religious life. More topical chapters, more analysis, and less political and diplomatic narrative would have made this a more stimulating book. It is nevertheless a very good piece of work indeed; written in a clear if not especially lively style. It is by far the best overview of the whole period now available and is particularly valuable for the middle years

of the fourteenth and of the fifteenth centuries—though it is still permissible to agree with Barrow about Bruce and with Mackie about James IV.

MAURICE LEE, JR.
Rutgers University,
New Brunswick

I. M. DAVIS. *The Black Douglas*. Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1974. Pp. 184. \$9.95.

On the title page of his book, Mr. Davis quotes two conflicting impressions made on the Scots and the English by the Black Douglas, one attributing to him "all wit and worship," the other describing him as "always bent on plots." This is even-handed justice, but though Davis is only half Scottish he leaves no doubt whatever as to where he stands. To him, the lord of Douglas was barely, if at all, second to Robert Bruce himself; he was one of the heroic creators of the Scotland who won the battle of Bannockburn and made the immortal declaration of Arbroath, even though his genius was displayed mainly in the sporadic warfare that led up to the decisive engagement of 1314.

Douglas's father had been governor of Berwick castle for Edward I but had been the first Scottish nobleman to join William Wallace. In consequence, he lost his estates and was imprisoned in the Tower, where he died. Whereupon, King Edward refused to grant the estates to the son, the future Black Douglas, who was only about eighteen years of age and was innocent of any complicity in his father's misdeeds. The dispossessed heir promptly joined Robert Bruce, probably in Annandale in March 1306.

Douglas's reason was probably very simple. Robert was in desperate straits, made no better by the murder of John Comyn of Badenoch, his rival for the throne, but he represented the young lord's only hope of regaining the family estates. This decision, which began a spectacular career and was planned with ruthless efficiency, illuminates the character of Robert's future lieutenant.

The narrative that follows is mainly devoted to the numerous minor engagements in which the lord of Douglas established his great reputation as a soldier and regained his estates. It is good to have this spirited account, written by an unqualified admirer, of an unaccountably neglected Scottish hero. No one will quarrel seriously with Davis's honest if somewhat uncritical admiration, though his treatment would have benefited by a broader analysis of the politics of the period. The English government, in

spite of the weaknesses in Edward II's character, should not be dismissed as a "pack of squabbling nincompoops" in sharp contrast to the "handful of talented individuals who directed Scottish affairs." We need a more judicious examination of the French connection to substantiate the view that in the Auld Alliance "Scotland was always, on the whole, to give more than she got." But Davis should not be judged for not doing what he never intended to do. He has written a lively and engaging account of a great epoch in Scottish history and has shed much light on many obscure but important events that led up to Bannockburn, a watershed in Scottish history to which the Black Douglas himself contributed a good deal.

BERTIE WILKINSON
Toronto, Ontario

FRANCIS JOHN BYRNE. *Irish Kings and High-Kings*. New York: St. Martin's Press. 1973. Pp. 341. \$15.95.

In a pioneer effort to write a history of Irish kingship in the period from the fifth to the ninth century, Professor Byrne has faced up to the fact that traditional historical sources are scanty, incomplete, and not always reliable. Compounding the problem of sparse sources is the fact that there were literally hundreds of men who ranked as kings.

To resolve the dilemma of too many kings and too few sources Byrne first analyzes the nature of Irish kingship. Within provinces overkings took precedence over petty kings who have often been seen as tribal chiefs. In the ninth century the kings of Tara emerged as high kings who took pride of place, but not of power, over overkings. High kings were kings, Byrne tells us, but not monarchs. Irish kingship at any level was clearly a peculiar institution, and his analysis is carefully developed within the context of medieval Irish society.

The response to the inadequacy of the historical sources is a critical use of materials from literature in the form of myths, legends of origin, and sagas. These literary sources are used to complement or to verify the traditional material such as law tracts, annals, and genealogies. Obviously the conclusions are tentative, and hypotheses are more numerous than certainties.

The end result of this investigation is three chapters of useful and acceptable ideas about the nature of Irish kingship. The remaining chapters treating the evolution of dynasties, province by province, are less satisfying. While

the scholarship is diligent, the nature of the sources does not allow for the emergence of personalities. Individual Irish kings remain shadows, skeletons, or mere names.

Professor Byrne has done excellent work in the development of genealogical tables, and he has chosen illustrations that are relevant to his text.

COBURN V. GRAVES
Kent State University

EVELYN BOLSTER. *A History of the Diocese of Cork: From the Earliest Times to the Reformation*. New York: Barnes and Noble. 1972. Pp. xlviii, 548, \$20.00.

Without being explicit about her intentions, Evelyn Bolster (Sister Mary Angela) has fashioned a sprawling study of the medieval diocese of Cork within a framework defined by three major phases of Irish history during the Middle Ages.

The first section (chs. 1-2) draws chiefly from saints' lives and annals to paint a sketchy picture of the monastically dominated "diocese" from its sixth-century foundation by St. Finbarr to the early twelfth century. Cork's diocesan history appears to conform closely to the well-known Irish pattern of the era—a vital religious establishment directed by abbot-bishops whose activities became totally intertwined with the interests of powerful clans from which they and their monk-priest subordinates emerged.

The second section (chs. 3-12) unfolds around the forces that during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries drew Ireland into the mainstream of European civilization. The key events affecting Cork were the imposition on Ireland of a territorial diocesan structure and the intrusion, beginning with Henry II, of the English system of royal direction of episcopal affairs. Miss Bolster musters what evidence there is to frame the activities of the twelfth- and thirteenth-century bishops of Cork as suffragans of the archbishop of Cashel, responding to directions emanating from Rome, and as feudatories of the English kings, accommodating themselves to the English system of land tenure, episcopal elections, judicial processes, and taxation. She traces the definition of the cathedral chapter, the deaneries, and the parishes, describes the diocesan economy, and outlines the circumstances that led to the establishment of Hospitaller, Benedictine, Cistercian, and mendicant foundations in Cork.

The final part (chs. 13-19) seeks to fit diocesan affairs into the late medieval setting dominated by a Gaelic resurgence, the deterioration

of English royal control, and the massive expansion of papal involvement in local affairs through provisions and fiscal exactions. The impact of these forces is measured by chronicling the activities of each bishop from 1302 to 1536. The fruits of this era in Cork's history are presented in a final chapter depicting a conventional set of evils crying for correction on the eve of the Reformation and setting the stage for at least one more volume in which the history of the diocese will be continued to the present.

On the whole, the book is frustrating, chiefly because it fails to provide an intimate involvement in diocesan religious life. The fault is largely with the sparse, disjointed sources originating in the main outside the diocese at the English court and the papal curia and dominated by the concerns of overlords—clerical appointments, property, taxation, judicial processes. But one wonders whether a more imaginative range of questions asked of the surviving documents would have given the reader a better sense of what the diocesan establishment and the activities of its many clergymen meant in the lives of countless McCarthys, O'Briens, O'Sullivans, and other clans during the course of a millennium.

RICHARD E. SULLIVAN
Michigan State University

J. F. LYDON. *The Lordship of Ireland in the Middle Ages*. [Toronto:] University of Toronto Press. 1972. Pp. 295. \$12.50.

In 1154 Pope Adrian IV granted the lordship of Ireland to the English king Henry II on condition that he civilize the island and bring about a reformation in the Irish Church. In 1541 Henry VIII (by now hardly in a position to base his claim on a papal bull) had himself proclaimed king of Ireland by the Parliament sitting in Dublin. So it is with these nearly four centuries that Dr. Lydon, medieval historian in Trinity College, Dublin, is dealing in this book. Noting that there is no lack of narrative accounts of the period, Lydon indicates that he has tried to be analytical and interpretive rather than merely descriptive in his approach to the frequently confused and perplexing events of this period.

The author lays the groundwork by explaining the state of affairs in Gaelic Ireland prior to the Norman invasion, an explanation that helps us understand the rapidity and relative ease with which a small body of Norman adventurers were able to overrun the island and

carve out huge estates for themselves, as well as the readiness with which Gaelic chiefs made submission to Henry when he came over, not so much to further the conquest as to hold in check the growing and potentially dangerous power of these Norman lords. Lydon attributes the success of the Anglo-Irish lordship during the first century after the invasion to the new stability and prosperity made possible by the introduction of the feudal system; at the same time he shows how increasing neglect and mismanagement of Irish affairs put a limit to the expansion of Anglo-Ireland and contributed to the Gaelic resurgence that in due time would recover most of the lost territory and shrink the area of effective English rule to the small strip of land known as "the Pale" and to the few isolated walled towns, the condition that obtained at the end of the medieval lordship and at the eve of the Tudor conquest.

Lydon is most successful, I think, in his depiction of Anglo-Irish society, the "middle nation" that was Irish to the English and English to the Gael. Though there was a considerable amount of Hibernization during the centuries, I believe Lydon estimates it to be less thorough than is commonly supposed. In his concluding chapter, therefore, he gives as one result of the history of this period the judgment that "two races and two very different cultures were left confronting each other," a confrontation destined to future and ceaseless conflict.

LEO F. MCNAMARA
University of Michigan,
Ann Arbor

WATTENBACH-LEVISON. *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter: Vorzeit und Karolinger*. Part 5, *Die Karolinger vom Vertrag von Verdun bis zum Herrschaftsantritt der Herrscher aus dem sächsischen Hause; Das westfränkische Reich*. Revised by HEINZ LÖWE. Weimar: Hermann Böhlau Nachfolger. 1973. Pp. 496-645. DM 8.30.

The fourth part of the eighth edition of Wattenbach's *Geschichtsquellen* by Heinz Löwe discussed Italy in the period A.D. 843-919 (see *AHR*, 70 [1964]: 220), and this fifth part by the same author complements the fourth part by its investigation of the sources for, and studies of, the history of the west Frankish kingdom during the same period. The political development was "characterized by the claim of the bishops and of the upper nobility to participate in the government of the empire" (p. 503). The intellectual development was characterized by literary

and philosophical advances, while science was not forgotten but interest in it was not extensive. Six sections consider the following topics: the west Frankish realm, the kingdom, miscellaneous; Rheims archbishopric; Sens archbishopric; archbishoprics of Rouen, Tours, and Brittany; the land south of the Loire to the Spanish March; the archbishoprics of Arles, Vienne, Lyons, and Besançon; and the kingdoms of Provence and upper Burgundy. As in the fourth part Löwe goes beyond Wattenbach's original plan by commenting upon documents and diplomatics, cartularies, scriptoria, libraries, schools, letters, literature including poetry, homilies and Biblical exegesis, hagiography, numismatics, portraits, and epitaphs, all with full bibliographical references through July 1972. A comprehensive index completes this fifth part.

HARRIET PRATT LATIN
Sun City, Arizona

MICHEL MOLLAT, editor. *Études sur l'histoire de la pauvreté (Moyen Âge—XVI^e siècle)*. In two volumes. (Université de Paris IV—Paris Sorbonne. Series "Études," number 8.) Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne. 1974. Pp. 459, x; 470–855.

As Michel Mollat's preface to this collection demonstrates, his Paris seminar "The Poor and Poverty" has covered an impressive variety of terrain since its inception in 1962. The thirty-five articles in these two volumes constitute a representative, but by no means exhaustive, sample of the work that has emerged from a decade of collaboration. While the seminar has been predominantly French in both membership and concerns, it has always drawn some participants from elsewhere. Thus, the *Études* contain a few offerings by Polish, Italian, Canadian, and American scholars and occasionally treat developments beyond the frontiers of France. The selection, though largely medieval, spans the centuries between Justinian and Erasmus.

Professor Mollat distinguishes three stages in the history of European attitudes toward poverty—an age of ritual charity, an age of pious identification with the poor, and an age of attempted social improvement. Thus, the early Middle Ages, still dominated by an ethic of largess, saw giving as primarily a source of benefit to the giver. The recipients were mere adjuncts to the transaction. As Michel Rouche's article demonstrates, Merovingian abbeyss accordingly had their resident poor, *immatriculati*, often restricted to a Biblical twelve or forty in

number, who gradually evolved into minor officials of the monastery. The essay by Willibrord Witters shows how among the Benedictines a standard form of charity was the *mandatum*, the ceremonial laving of the feet of a few chosen paupers. The second epoch, according to Mollat, began in the eleventh century with movements, some eremitic, some heretical, others within the confines of orthodoxy, which because they raised up the ideal of poverty did little to lighten the sufferings of the unfortunate. The poor remained part of a God-given order. Only in Mollat's third period, which began about 1200, did one encounter concerted efforts at social reform. The cities of Europe, increasingly troubled by demographic pressures and resultant penury, famine, and pestilence, developed new sensitivity to the needs of the indigent. The age saw, consequently, an efflorescence of well-organized charities such as specialized hostels, leprosaria, and burial societies. Yet, as Charles-M. de la Roncière proves in his painstakingly quantitative study of Florentine charity, even the admirable efforts of the gild of Or San Michele failed to strike to the root of the problems; the usual recipients of Florentine generosity remained the poor of pious tradition—widows, orphans, and invalids. Yet in the fourteenth century, able-bodied laborers or artisans were, if burdened with young children, extraordinarily vulnerable to fluctuations in the economy and in the price of bread.

While whetting the appetite of the social historian, this collection fails to satisfy it. Aside from two articles on Lyon in the sixteenth century, one on French criminals during the Hundred Years' War, and an exhaustive piece on Florence, these two volumes say relatively little about the conditions of life, the problems, and the subculture of the poor themselves. The voluntary poor, and their good works, figure somewhat more prominently. To a degree, the sources make this inevitable. Nevertheless, seldom among so many studies of institutional benevolence is one reminded, as J. N. Biraben remarks, that at the hands of officials the poor received scant justice.

THOMAS V. COHEN
York University

PAUL ARCHAMBAULT. *Seven French Chroniclers: Witnesses to History*. [Syracuse:] Syracuse University Press. 1974. Pp. xi, 156. \$9.75.

Medieval historians have much to learn from students of literature. While the former have been preoccupied with the factual accuracy of

chronicles, the latter have begun to apply literary techniques to them to discern their basic modes of perception. How and why a writer composed his history reveals as much about the Middle Ages as the information actually written down. William J. Brandt's *The Shape of Medieval History* (1966) and Robert W. Hanning's *The Vision of History in Early Britain* (1966) have pioneered in applying these literary techniques to English chronicles. Now Paul Archambault, professor of French literature, has attempted to apply them to seven French chroniclers: Villehardouin, Joinville, Froissart, Chastellain, La Marche, Basin, and Commines. (With the exception of Thomas Basin, who wrote in Latin, all composed in French.) In six essays Archambault attempts to detect how the vision of each historian related to the characteristic thought of his age. He concludes that except on the most banal level the seven chroniclers were more interesting for their individual perceptions than for a common development. As such, then, each essay may be read separately.

Unfortunately historians will not be easily persuaded by the arguments of this book. Apart from the preliminary problem of how six chronicles written in French can witness to medieval perceptions when the whole massive Latin historiography has been ignored, there are too many questionable statements about medieval history. For example, historians may prefer to interpret Villehardouin's account of doge Enrico Dandolo's negotiations in the treaty of 1201 as resulting more from the Venetian constitution than from the chronicler's propensity for geometric patterns. Or being aware of the medieval significance of oaths and of the Capetians' traditional aversion to blasphemy, they, unlike the author, might not be surprised that Louis IX considered cursing worse than prostitution. Or historians might wonder at the extent of the author's acquaintance with medieval bishops when he finds a contradiction in Thomas Basin, a Christian bishop, who "refuses to accept most of the miracles witnessed by the *vulgus* of his times." If literary scholars wish to teach historians about chronicles they shall have to learn more history than this.

JOHN W. BALDWIN
Johns Hopkins University

JOHANNES VINCKE, editor. *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens*. Volume 26. (Spanische Forschungen der Görresgesellschaft, First Series.) Münster: Aschendorfsche Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1971. Pp. 356. Cloth DM 64, paper DM 58.

The present volume contains six individual contributions. There are two necrologies: one of the scholastic philosopher and Galician philologist Angel Amor Ruibal, and the other of the German paleographer and editor August Eduard Anspach. One of the essays is a highly theoretical and abstract discussion of the concept of natural law in German legal scholarship. The remaining three essays have real substance for students of Spanish history. In a study of the cultural situation of the Spanish March in the tenth century, Uta Lindgren examines many relevant manuscripts from the Ripoll monastery and the Archivo de la Corona de Aragón. She finds constant commercial, political, and cultural interaction between Al-Andalus and the county of Barcelona. The principal vehicles of such contact were Mozarabs and Catalan Christians, with a secondary but still very significant role being played by Muslims and Jews. Cultural interchange was greatly facilitated by the fact that Greco-Roman culture had never completely died out in Catalonia. Hans Schadek, in a detailed study of the role of *familiars* in the kingdoms of Aragon and Sicily, wishes to prove that their status and functions underwent a profound transformation in the mid-fourteenth century, but his evidence is rather inconclusive. It is certainly true that the increasing complexity of the king's problems and the growth of mercantile interests meant that the *familiars* increased in numbers and in specialization of function; however, much of what he claims may be an optical illusion based on the larger number of documents available for the fourteenth century as against earlier periods and on the writer's unconscious attribution of subtle legal and philological considerations to the minds of these little-known royal servants. Wolfgang Petter contributes a very interesting discussion of the relations between Spaniards and Germans early in the reign of Charles I of Spain and V of the Holy Roman Empire. Making excellent use of Rochus von Liliencorn's five-volume collection of German historical folk poetry, he shows, first, how German public opinion assumed that only a German could legitimately hold the imperial title, and then how the Habsburgs employed minstrels to create songs which reassured the people that Charles was really a German at heart even though he happened to have inherited the thrones of Castile and Aragon along with the traditional Habsburg territories and imperial expectations. Clearly the Germans around 1520 were just as afraid of having their government Hispanized as the contemporary Spaniards were

of being dominated by Flemings and Germans. The three main essays are all of high quality archival scholarship.

GABRIEL JACKSON
University of California,
San Diego

ENRIQUE GALLEGU BLANCO, edited with *apparatus criticus*, English translation, and a preliminary study by. *The Rule of the Spanish Military Order of St. James, 1170-1493: Latin and Spanish Texts*. (Medieval Iberian Peninsula: Texts and Studies, volume 4.) Leiden: E. J. Brill. 1971. Pp. 171. 28 gls.

The Iberian military Order of Santiago had a remarkable history. It required its members to participate in warfare against Saracens, permitted female membership, accepted married males, and even went so far as authorizing the offering of menstrual gifts to its women administrators or *comendadoras*. Following upon the study by Derek Lomax, *La Orden de Santiago* (1965), Enrique Gallegu Blanco now presents a published edition of the rule, complete with a historical essay, a textual critique, and an English translation paired on each page with the original version. The edition is derived from a thirteenth-century manuscript in the Archivo Histórico Nacional of Madrid, and it includes a Latin copy of the *regula* and a Spanish text that discusses admission procedures, rules for the novice, and some guidelines for administrative inspections. The historical essay is rather brief and oriented toward land grants acquired by the order. There are a number of stylistic errors in the translation and several typographical misprints. None of this basically detracts from the value that this work will have for students and scholars. The Gallegu Blanco edition is a useful addition to the Brill Texts and Studies of the Medieval Iberian Peninsula, and it is most welcome.

JAMES F. POWERS
College of the Holy Cross

ROBERT IGNATIUS BURNS, S.J. *Islam under the Crusaders: Colonial Survival in the Thirteenth-Century Kingdom of Valencia*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1973. Pp. xxxi, 475. \$20.00.

This is the second volume of a proposed tetralogy that will detail the subjugation and absorption of the Muslim kingdom of Valencia by the Aragonese and Catalans during the thirteenth century. The first volume, *The Crusader King-*

dom of Valencia: Reconstruction on a Thirteenth-Century Frontier, appeared in 1967 and dealt with the development of the ecclesiastical institutions that integrated the society of the Christian conquerors. The attention of some reviewers, however, fixed upon the much-debated term "frontier" appearing in the title, and the main point of the work was sometimes obscured by this preoccupation. This second volume, employing the word "colonial," is likely enough to encounter similar difficulties, so it would be well to take this opportunity to discuss the substance of Father Burns's presentation.

The author has undertaken in this volume to analyze and describe the institutions of Muslim society as they continued to operate within the newly conquered region of Valencia. This constitutes an important contribution from two points of view. In a general sense, the book provides the most extensive and detailed analysis of a Mudejar community yet published, and will stimulate and influence further studies in this field. For Valencian history in particular, the work counters the common view of a swift displacement and decay of the Islamic community of the region by detailing the persistence and evolution of Muslim social institutions. This reappraisal constitutes an essential element for the final synthesis of thirteenth-century Valencian society.

The author claims that, although related to the other volumes that will form the final work, *Islam under the Crusaders* is intended to stand on its own. Although this is true in a general sense, it is unlikely that many readers will be content with this necessarily incomplete treatment. The specific details of daily life that would have added a welcome human dimension have been omitted, and the interrelationship and interaction between the Islamic and Christian Valencian communities are largely neglected. It is gratifying to know that these issues will form the subjects of the concluding volumes of the study, "Medieval Colonialism: Postcrusade Exploitation of Islamic Valencia" and "The Crusader-Muslim Predicament: Colonial Confrontation in the Conquered Kingdom of Valencia."

It would be premature to judge the value of this work until these final volumes have been published and the author has had the opportunity to present the full interplay of his chosen themes. The significance of the volumes already published is well established in the fields of Valencian history and Mudejar studies. Beyond these topics, however, there lies a more extensive issue, the general inability of Christian

states to tolerate or long sustain dynamic Muslim minorities. Whether it is expressed in terms of "crusade," "frontier," or "colonialism," this remains one of the most basic questions to be asked in Mediterranean history. The final results of Father Burns's work may provide important insight into this fundamental issue, and it is perhaps here that his greatest contribution will lie.

LYNN H. NELSON
University of Kansas

FERNANDO DEL PULGAR. *Claros varones de Castilla*. A critical edition with introduction and notes by ROBERT BRIAN TATE. New York: Oxford University Press. 1971. Pp. lxviii, 118. \$9.50.

In 1965 Professor Tate published a critical edition of Pérez de Guzmán's *Generaciones y semblanzas*. It is logical, then, that he offer the work under review, for it complements the former. As Tate puts it on the first page of his excellent introduction, between them these two "pen portraits of the fifteenth century" enable modern students to see how "this select assembly of nobles and prelates evolved the power and resources which were later harnessed to the domestic and foreign policies of the united crowns of Aragon and Castile." But Guzmán's treatise reflected the uncertainties of the late 1450s, whereas Pulgar's—the *Crónica de los reyes católicos* as well—were set "in his belief in the providential mission of Fernando and Isabel."

This is not to suggest that Pulgar offers us an objective biographical collection. Tate briefly outlines the history and culture that explain his subject's attitudes. Section 6, "Moral Aims of the Portraits," is especially helpful in its discussion of Roman and Augustinian values in Pulgar. With Roger Highfield's collection of specialized essays, *Spain in the Fifteenth Century* (1972), Tate's works give us the most updated accounts of the Trastámara epoch in English; one awaits a general synthesis. The Cantera Burgos article "Pulgar and the Conversos" in Highfield's book reminds us that Pulgar was the Catholic Kings' secretary, here mentioned only on the flyleaf.

PAUL J. HAUBEN
University of the Pacific

MIGUEL ANGEL LADERO QUESADA. *Andalucía en el siglo XV: Estudios de historia política*. (Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto Jerónimo Zurita. Biblioteca "Reyes

Católicos." Estudios, number 14.) Madrid: the Consejo. 1973. Pp. xxix, 151, 1 map. 250 ptas.

MIGUEL ANGEL LADERO QUESADA. *La hacienda real de Castilla en el siglo XV*. (Estudios de historia, number 1.) La Laguna: Universidad de La Laguna, Secretariado de Publicaciones. 1973. Pp. 379, 3 tables.

The author has offered two unique views of the fundamental social and economic transformation that took place in Castile during the Trastámaran era. The first of these, *Andalucía en el siglo XV*, is a minutely detailed examination of the three-cornered struggle for political power between the rising provincial oligarchy, the Crown, and the urban concentrations of the region. In Andalusia during the pre-fifteenth-century era, the greatest potential for political organization lay in the cities, with their separate ordinances, institutions, and economic power. Ladero Quesada notes how aristocratic houses like those of Niebla, Arcos, and Luque completed the conquest of metropolitan centers with the assistance of Alfonso XI and the subsequent Trastámaran rulers. The creation of an oligarchical regime in Andalusia occurred earlier than in other portions of Castile. The lateness of the settlement of the region plus the opportunities for aggrandizement afforded by the Granadine frontier doomed the cities to failure in their attempts at political independence.

The second book, *La hacienda real de Castilla en el siglo XV*, is a more substantial work. It accomplishes for Castilian finances what Magalhães Godinho has achieved for neighboring Portugal—the first broad outlines in Castilian finances from the mid-fourteenth through the fifteenth century. Between 1338 and 1406, late in Alfonso XI's reign through that of Henry III, a completely new Castilian financial structure was being erected. The keystone of this new system was the *alcabala*. This ordinary revenue was transformed into the most important source of money for the Crown. The apotheosis of the new system was achieved during the decades from 1430 to 1460 when revenues attained new heights. The new prosperity in royal finances during this period corresponded closely with events in the political arena of the country—defeat of the Aragonese princes and the rise to power by Alvaro de Luna. Revenues increased, the exchequer was organized and given formal legislation to govern it, and the monarchy accrued a growing set of leases and rents. The Trastámaran monarchs proceeded to tap new sources of revenue that they never be-

fore had the political strength to attempt—Crusade money and *servicios* from the Cortes. Total royal receipts rose from 60.8 million maravedis in 1429 to 85.8 million maravedis in 1458, then dipped precipitously during the last decade of Henry IV's reign to a low of 67.3 million maravedis in 1465. Allowing for inflation, the 1465 figure is even more significant since it represented a forty-five per cent drop in real income from the 1429 index base. The decay of Trastamaran finances under Henry IV clearly was aided by the political catastrophes attending this monarch from 1468 to 1474. When the Catholic Monarchs triumphed, they did not rebuild the older financial structure, but instead they began anew, using new sources of revenues to subsidize their diverse enterprises.

Fully the last third of this work consists of supporting tables and statistics of royal revenues and expenses from 1429 to 1504. Both of these monographs are solid pieces of scholarship, despite the lamentable absence of any index for either work. Ladero Quesada does not present the reader with any startling revelations regarding the role of the Andalusian aristocracy in fifteenth-century political life; nor are his figures for Castilian finances entirely unknown. What the author does, however, is present the aristocratic-financial-political struggle under the Trastamarans as a unified whole. Each is an element in a much larger story—the foundation of monarchical consolidation under Ferdinand and Isabella. Hence the total contribution by the author is greater than the sum of his individual works.

JOHN L. VOGT
University of Georgia

LOUIS BINZ. *Vie religieuse et réforme ecclésiastique dans le diocèse de Genève pendant le grand schisme et la crise conciliaire (1378-1450)*. Volume 1. (Mémoires et documents publiés par la Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Genève, volume 46.) Geneva: Alex. Jullien. 1973. Pp. xiv, 549. 60 fr. S.

This study, by the professor of national history at the University of Geneva, is a major contribution not only to the history of his native area but also to our understanding of the medieval Church. It may also prove to be of some methodological interest, since it combines in a very fruitful way information drawn from traditional multiarchival manuscript research with approaches drawn from such other fields as demography, social statistics, and collective biography.

The book focuses on the diocese of Geneva

between 1378, when Robert of Geneva was elected Pope Clement VII, and 1449, when Pope Felix V, also from the area, abdicated. It was consequently a period in which the diocese held a peculiarly central place within the international Catholic community. Binz, however, is primarily interested in the internal history of the diocese. And he does not stick slavishly to the announced limits of the book, but rather ranges up and down the centuries and into other dioceses, both nearby and far away, whenever such excursions promise to help in evaluating the full significance of the developments that interest him most.

A set of six episcopal visitation reports, running from 1411 to 1518, form the central documentation for this analysis. Binz depends particularly upon two unusually rich reports, for 1411-13 and for 1443-45. Both are very complete, but in somewhat different ways. The earliest one contains fascinating judgments of the qualifications of a great many individual members of the parish clergy. The later one contains more information on church buildings and maintenance problems. Neither covers the parishes of the city of Geneva, so this is primarily a history of religious life in the towns, villages, and hamlets that filled the city's hinterland and contained almost ninety per cent of the area's total population. Some information about the city from other sources, however, is supplied to round out the picture.

The completeness of the documentation makes possible a number of quantitative conclusions, which Binz draws with precision and judiciousness. Some of them are fascinating. We learn, for example, that the number of parish benefices held by absentee priests rose from thirty-one per cent in 1411-13 to eighty per cent in 1516-18. As many as twenty per cent of these rural priests in the earlier period lived more or less permanently with concubines. Practically none of these priests had acquired a university education, and a good number were barely literate. Their principal function was the administration of sacraments, and they were never expected to preach. Some of this may help to explain the Calvinist Reformation, although that movement was more successful in the city than in these rural areas.

Even this large book does not exhaust the riches of its sources. Binz promises us a second volume, dealing with the fiscal arrangements made to support Geneva's parishes and their economic consequences and also with the lay population this ecclesiastical structure was designed to serve. Anyone interested in late medi-

eval or early modern ecclesiastical history will certainly want to become acquainted with both volumes.

ROBERT M. KINGDON
University of Wisconsin,
Madison

WALTER BERSCHIN. *Bonizo von Sutri: Leben und Werk*. (Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters, number 2.) Berlin: Walter de Gruyter. 1972. Pp. 171. DM 78.

Bonizo, bishop of Sutri, a partisan of Pope Gregory VII in the investiture controversy, contributed to the Gregorian cause a defense of ecclesiastical autonomy and papal supremacy that was rooted in canon law and history. He was an extremist of sorts who at times manipulated history and law to make a point for Roman primacy and justified the use of violence against heretics and schismatics, but who also suffered for his passionate commitment the pains of exile, captivity, and bodily injury. Seven works from his pen have been preserved, the most important ones being collections of ecclesiastical canons and of excerpts from St. Augustine and his *Liber ad amicum*. From a historian's point of view, the last work is especially interesting since it reviews the history of the Church to explain her troubles in his time and to answer the question whether Christians can use force in a struggle for true doctrine.

The present work is based on a Tübingen dissertation (1966) and offers both the first critical and complete edition of three of Bonizo's works (*Paradisus*, *Liber de sacramentis*, *Sermo de penitentia*) and a critical survey of all of the author's writings with regard to manuscripts, sources, impact, and previous scholarly analysis. I have not been able to collate the printed texts with any of the manuscripts on which they are based, but a reading of texts, introductions, annotations, and variants suggests a well-informed and meticulous editor.

Berschin's examination of Bonizo's life and career reveals a sovereign familiarity with earlier studies and his quest for Bonizo's sources yields, for example, a full list of canons to which the *Liber ad amicum* makes reference. While the author does not fundamentally revise the estimate of Bonizo's role and significance advanced by other scholars in the last decades, his book is a useful and necessary preliminary to a proper assessment, which remains to be written, of Bonizo of Sutri as a writer and theorist.

BERNHARD WALTER SCHOLZ
Seton Hall University

ROBERT BRENTANO. *Rome before Avignon: A Social History of Thirteenth-Century Rome*. New York: Basic Books. 1974. Pp. xiv, 340. \$15.00.

The history of Rome in the Middle Ages does not conform to any known or assumed model of medieval urban development. Its great monuments and memories, of both the classical empire and the early Christian Church, infused it with a unique spirit and mood. The presence of the papal household, and the pilgrims drawn to the tomb of St. Peter, supported, and surely distorted, the Roman economy. The large patronage associated with Church offices directed the aspirations, shaped the policies, and tuned the relationships of its prominent families.

In a brief, brilliant, sometimes disturbing but always arresting book, Robert Brentano examines this complex Roman world in the thirteenth century. He considers in turn its physical setting, its place in legend, its lay government, the popes, the great families, the "spiritual families" or religious houses, and the piety of the age as manifest primarily in last testaments. "Rome before Avignon" is not an easy city to visit, whether through its extant monuments or its documentary records. The subsequent departure of the papacy to Avignon, the troubles of both *urbs* and *orbis* in the late Middle Ages, and probably other factors, too, depleted the Roman archives. In particular, Rome lacks for the thirteenth century the statutes, administrative records, notarial cartularies, and other "documents of practice," which abound in the contemporary archives of some other Italian cities.

Based on relatively laconic sources, the book contains very little specific information on the Roman population, settlement, classes and class balances, or economic activities. In response to the question of who ruled Rome, Brentano first alludes to a "real institutional incoherence" and then claims that "if one thing ruled Rome more than another, it was surely money." He responds to his own question by changing the question, and in other ways, too, he can be elusive as well as allusive in his presentation.

This is not a conventional urban history or social history. But the book remains notable and valuable for other reasons. Brentano consciously seeks to evoke a mood or, as he says, to expose "what thirteenth century Rome was like," to make his reader "see and feel it." To accomplish this he dwells at length on the physical aspect of the city (the book includes fifty plates); his knowledge of Rome is clearly both extensive and sensitive. He makes effective use

of the few, concrete records that survive—characters of religious houses, lists of their members, last testaments. When he examines the spirit of thirteenth-century piety, his touch is exquisite; he shows its ties with Franciscan sentiment and its yearning for direct, sensual experience of the objects of devotion. His English style is almost poetic in its devices, particularly in the use of substantives in verbal form (e.g., “weakly gilded city,” in the sense of possessing few gilds, and “Gothicked ciborium”).

One might question an occasional interpretation. It is hard to believe, as Brentano apparently does, that the aged Boniface VIII was guilty of enthusiastic sodomy, atheism, and gluttony, of which his enemies accused him after his death. I found one technical error of some importance. Pope Nicholas III did not “linger” for six months at his death (p. 166)—a misinterpretation of the term “cessavit” in the chronicle source—but the papacy “ceased,” that is, remained vacant for six months following his death. Misprints are few, but a glaring “their’s” appears on page 49.

Still, the quality of this unconventional history cannot be measured by detailed praise or criticism in a conventional review. The basis for judgment must rather be the coherence of the total picture, the authenticity of the vision, and the mood generated from these pages. Brentano is writing a species of total history. This work of high craftsmanship can best be considered and judged in its totality and by its success in enabling the individual reader to “see and feel” thirteenth-century Rome.

DAVID HERLIHY
Harvard University

RICHARD C. TREXLER. *The Spiritual Power: Republican Florence under Interdict*. (Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought, volume 9.) Leiden: E. J. Brill. 1974. Pp. 208. 58 gls.

A rewriting and expansion of the author's doctoral dissertation published in 1964, this work is essentially a study of the effect that a severe ecclesiastical censure had on one of the most sophisticated and economically evolved people in Western Europe in the Late Middle Ages. The interdict laid on Florence in 1376 by Gregory IX is convincingly represented as the principal weapon of the papacy in its three-year war with Florence (1375–78). Because of their far-flung commercial and industrial interests, the Florentines were exceptionally vulnerable to the economic sanctions of the decree, and on the basis of a wide-ranging survey of European

archives, the author attempts to assess on an area-by-area basis the extent of the damage done to Florentine business. The best pages of the account and those of greatest interest to the nonspecialist, however, are those devoted to the description of the devastating psychological impact of the interdict on the masses and the desperate but often ambivalent efforts of the government to respond to the spiritual crisis of the population.

While scholars have been utilizing the results of the published dissertation for some years, the present book with its additional chapters on the nature of spiritual censures in the Middle Ages and the history of their employment against the Florentine Republic from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries places the Interdict of 1376 in better perspective. An interesting conclusion of the new chapters and one relevant to the thesis of a growing centralization of finance and administration in the fifteenth century is that “the interdict's effectiveness was not compromised by incipient ‘territoriality’” (p. 188). Indeed, in the latter half of this century, papal interference in Florentine internal affairs appears on the rise.

The author might have found additional material for his study in the relevant missives of the Vat. Capp. 147 and in the hundreds of missives from 1376–78 contained in the Bib. Ricc. 786 for which there are no duplicates in the archives. There are, unfortunately, certain unsettling elements in this otherwise excellent book. In the cases where I have been able to compare the references with the manuscripts themselves, the pagination has proven often approximate, and of the two transcriptions I could check one was mangled.

RONALD WITT
Duke University

DOMENICO MAFFEI. *Il giovane Machiavelli banchiere con Berto Bertì a Roma*. Florence: Giunti-G. Barbera. 1973. Pp. 191.

“Fortune has determined that since I don't know how to talk about the silk business or the wool business or about profits and losses, I must talk about politics; I must either make a vow of silence or discuss politics.” This passage from a letter by Machiavelli to his friend, Francesco Vettori, has generally been taken as an expression of Machiavelli's contempt for economic activities and of his conviction that politics was man's highest calling, and ought to be pursued in complete disregard of economic considerations and advantages.

The author suggests that such an interpretation of this passage is erroneous; its meaning is that Machiavelli would have liked to become a wealthy businessman but fate was against him, and he was forced to become a political official against his own original inclinations. Domenico Maffei is a distinguished legal historian. In the course of research in Roman archives he found in legal documents from the late fifteenth century the name of Niccolò di Bernardo Machiavelli. This discovery started Maffei on a complicated and fascinating investigation.

The litigation in which the name of Niccolò di Bernardo Machiavelli occurs concerned the last will of a Florentine banker residing in Rome, Berto Berti. Machiavelli, together with the sons of a sister of Berti, demanded that Berti's three brothers, who were his principal heirs, pay to them the legacies that Berti had left them; in the case of Niccolò di Bernardo Machiavelli the sum amounted to five hundred ducats. These legacies were contested because they were contained in the codicil of Berti's testament, and this codicil had been set up on the basis of oral instructions given by Berti on his deathbed in the presence of numerous witnesses.

Maffei, of course, is less interested in the pursuit of this litigation, which began in 1495 and was still pending in 1498, than in finding out about the relationship between Berti and Niccolò di Bernardo Machiavelli. Through research in the Florentine and the Roman archives, Maffei has been able to trace Berti's career in its main features. His family came from the Val d'Elsa, had settled in Florence where they had become active in the silk trade; under the Medici, Berti's father played a modest but honorable role in the Florentine government. Berto seems to have been the most ambitious and energetic among his sons. Around 1468, in his early twenties, he went to Rome and worked first in the Bank of Francesco Cambini; when Filippo Strozzi the Elder opened his Roman firm, Berti became its director. After Filippo's death in 1491, Berti, although remaining in business contact with the Strozzi, opened his own bank and was soon mentioned among the most important Florentine bankers in Rome.

Among his employees, in addition to the sons of his sister, was this young Florentine, Niccolò di Bernardo Machiavelli, who had come to Rome around 1489. After a few years he attained a responsible position in Berti's bank; in 1493 he is mentioned as its cashier. He also soon became a prominent member of the Religious Fraternity of the Florentines in Rome.

But this promising career, which seemed to destine Berti's young employee to become a leading banker in Rome, was cut off by the sudden and unexpected death of Berto Berti in March 1495. In the following years Niccolò di Bernardo Machiavelli moved between Florence and Rome looking after his financial claims in Rome and seeking a new position in Florence.

Less than twenty-five years ago it was generally assumed that with his election to the chancellery in 1498, Niccolò Machiavelli emerged suddenly out of complete darkness; the preceding years of his life were believed to have been "lost." Since then we know that his election was not sudden but preceded by a previous election in which he had been defeated—that he had spent some time copying classical manuscripts. From the diary of his father, Bernardo, we learn by whom and what Machiavelli was taught when he had reached school age, and if we permit ourselves a slight amount of speculation we might consider him to have been one of the boys whom Bartolommeo Scala saw throwing snowballs when visiting Bernardo Machiavelli. If Maffei is correct, one of the most important still-remaining gaps would be filled.

For Machiavelli scholars Maffei's discovery is rather upsetting. It is difficult to conceive that the man who asserted that "i danari non sono il nervo della guerra" was once a banker; the traditional interpretation of the famous passage in the letter to Vettori seems to fit our notion of Machiavelli much better than Maffei's new explanation. For this reason it is comforting that we do not need to accept Maffei's thesis immediately but have time to make up our minds. Because, following the appearance of Maffei's book, the existence of another Florentine with the same name of Niccolò di Bernardo Machiavelli has been established (see Mario Martelli, *L'altro Niccolò di Bernardo Machiavelli* [Florence, 1975]), the question must be asked whether Maffei's Niccolò di Bernardo Machiavelli is our Niccolò, the famous Machiavelli. Whatever the results of this dispute, after its conclusion we will know more about the colony of Florentine bankers in Rome, about the intellectual preparation needed for service in the Florentine chancellery, and—perhaps—also about Niccolò Machiavelli.

FELIX GILBERT

Institute for Advanced Study

F. E. PETERS. *Allah's Commonwealth: A History of Islam in the Near East, 600-1100 A.D.* New York: Simon and Schuster, 1973. Pp. 800. \$19.95.

This book is one of those special volumes that only rarely appears. It should—and will—become a standard work for readers who want a fundamental grasp of the first five centuries of Islamic intellectual history. Its subtitle is not quite exact, for the book does not cover economics and social details, though a discussion of political developments is provided. What it does is to weave into a coherent whole the literary, legal, philosophical, and theological efforts of the Arabic-language writers of the earlier Islamic centuries. On the way, as might be expected, intellectual developments are referred to the political events with which they were inseparably linked; in his narrative the author explicitly and implicitly outlines their relationships. Particularly noteworthy is his skill in sorting out the tangled skeins of many religious movements; he has provided two especially helpful charts.

This is a basic book, one every student of Islamic history must read; its author's command of literary materials demands unusual respect. He traces the story of how the early followers of Mohammed's prophetic message developed their legal and intellectual stances as they met challenges from within the community, and, with the rise of the 'Abbasids and the end of Amsar-style attitudes, the challenges from without: Persian imperial styles and late Hellenistic thought mediated through Christian (and Jewish) and the later pagan writers. Not all such works were available to the Muslims, and the author points out the importance of understanding just what was transmitted and with what effects. Concurrent with these developments, Arabic Muslim belletristic literature came into full flower, and the totality represented the classical Arabic intellectual achievement. In the ninth century the growth of *mu'tazilism* and dialectical argument, and at the same time the elaboration of the *hadith* system (bringing with it the auxiliary disciplines of biography, history, and philosophy) naturally brought about the crystallization of various stances of piety, including rational theology and conservative textualism. With study of the Hellenistic texts, serious work began in the positive sciences and philosophy. But at the same time the total milieu brought forth ecstasies based in the faith who, as they were influenced by disciplined intellectual speculation, developed the basis for Sufism. The book characteristically and properly ends with al-Ghazali (d. 1111), the epitome of his time and age, and who perhaps best represents the definitive Islamic turn away from peripatetic-based intellectual efforts. Moreover

the Islamic world under Persianized Turkic leadership and Turkmen tribes was a new and different world.

The author has well conceived and attractively written his survey, an extremely difficult job in face of so vast a canvas. The work is surely a tour de force. Perhaps the key to the success of the book is its one-man authorship by a scholar well qualified to link the late Hellenistic intellectual world to Islamic developments. The strengths of any single-author survey of such a large field have their concomitant: individual specialists, while admitting the brilliant conception of the book, may wish to find greater attention paid to alternative hypotheses in their own fields. As much more detailed monographic work must still be done, a few may argue that it is not yet time to write such a book, or that a combination of specialists should undertake such a task. There is no need here to debate these objections. It is inevitable in such a work as this that its author will make his choices among interpretations and unfold his narrative at the risk of presenting a smooth and attractive whole without detailing all the variant possible alternatives. There are no substantial and detailed rivals to this book. While I or others may read and say, "Here he might have." I wish to applaud heartily and strongly recommend the work to all who wish to acquaint themselves with basic intellectual movements, persons, and works of the period. The book also provides a fascinating continuation of Peters's *Harvest of Hellenism* (1971), and the two taken together should be seen as a pair for students of late antiquity and medieval thought. Inevitably, there unfortunately are typographical and spelling problems, and I, for one, still even after eight hundred pages, cannot accept the same sign used for both 'ayn and hamza.

REUBEN W. SMITH

University of the Pacific

MODERN EUROPE

LÉON POLIAKOV. *The Aryan Myth: A History of Racist and Nationalist Ideas in Europe*. Translated by EDMUND HOWARD. (The Columbus Centre Series: Studies in the Dynamics of Persecution and Extermination.) New York: Basic Books. 1974. Pp. x, 388. \$12.00.

DONALD L. NIEWYK. *Socialist, Anti-Semite, and Jew: German Social Democracy Confronts the Problem of Anti-Semitism, 1918-1933*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1971. Pp. x, 254. \$8.95.

Although vastly different in form, method, style, and intent, these two books are concerned with one issue: the problem of racial myth and how one confronts it. Professor Poliakov provides us with the problem. Professor Niewyk provides us with at least one group's (the SPD's) response to anti-Semitism, part of the broader problem with which Poliakov is concerned.

There are things to criticize in Poliakov's work. At times, his style—or perhaps the translator's—is quite heavy, and thus the reader occasionally encounters heavy sledding. Also, particularly in the first portion of his work, "Early Myths of Origin," we are confronted with a potpourri of myths of national origin, with little to unify either them or the discussion. Occasional factual errors (or perhaps oversights) crop up, and, while these are very minor, one has the feeling that Professor Poliakov ought to have known better. For example, on page 75 we find a sentence that begins as follows: "At the end of the thirteenth century, after the new dynasty of the Hapsburgs had come to power." As many harassed students of Western civilization know, the *first* Hapsburgs ruled only between 1273 and 1308. Such an error is trivial. However, it could provide ammunition for one who chose to question some of the author's extremely controversial conclusions.

Yet, despite these criticisms, it is my opinion that this book is one of the most important to appear in recent years. This is because the author has shown that racist thinking is at the very core of European cultural history. He does not say that it *is* the core of such history; nor does Professor Poliakov suggest that other cultural traditions are free from racism. Rather, he demonstrates that a very human "search for origins" was responsible for the eventual concretization of a pernicious "Aryan myth," which, in turn, led to the death of millions of human beings.

What is particularly frightening about Poliakov's work is his proving that, while earlier medieval "searches for origin" took place under the rubric of an ingenuous collective effort to trace one's nationhood back to the universal Adam of Biblical myth, later more "scientific" speculation was responsible for creating an ideology of race. While there may have been early efforts at establishing the validity of some sort of "racial superiority"—*reconquista* Spain, where baptized descendants of Jews and Muslims were deemed inferior to hereditary Christians, is given as an example—the origins of modern racism are traced back to the so-called Age of Reason.

According to the author, two phenomena—the decline of belief in the common ancestor of all men, Adam, and the rise of scientism in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—must be blamed for the emergence of modern racism. Such seventeenth-century speculators as François Bernier and John Locke led the way in establishing what Poliakov calls the "bias of Reason." Because of this tendency, the eighteenth century saw a veritable flood of racist speculation. From Linnaeus, who sought to classify mankind as he had animals, to the anti-Semite Voltaire, who expressed an equally strong contempt for Negroes, much of the European intellectual community applied an astringent "scientific method" in order to demolish such vestigial remains of orthodoxy as the notion of mankind's common origin. The result was a rudimentary scientific racism.

The Aryan myth emerged from this melange because of the influence of the English poet and linguist William Jones and the romantic writer Friedrich Schlegel who deduced "from the relationship of language, a relationship of race" and thus created a doctrine that purported to establish the existence of a superior race rooted in Aryan India—or for that matter, Atlantis, Lemur, or Mu. Later, Hegel, Christian Lassen, Richard Wagner, Lamartine, Michelet, Max Müller, Ernest Renan, and, of course, Gobineau and H. S. Chamberlain contributed to the emergence of an ideology that not only emphasized mythical racial origins but, increasingly, a presumed apocalyptic confrontation between races, most importantly between Aryan and Semitic. European eighteenth-century scientism had stripped man of his divinity. Nineteenth-century Romanticism—with, of course, the assistance of Darwinism—had turned him into a creature of the blood, ontologically condemned to race war.

In considering the reason why men have felt compelled to seek out myths of origin, Professor Poliakov falls back upon a Freudian approach. He blames that "regressive maternal instinct" that forces men (to paraphrase Freud) to turn the present into the past. The Romantics, through their adherence to the Aryan myth, represented this instinct more or less openly, while the brittle scientism of the eighteenth century was merely a sublimation of it. The use of Freudian analysis no doubt will raise many eyebrows and not a few tempers. If one considers the etiology of Adorno's "authoritarian personality," however, the validity of much of what the author says becomes sadly apparent.

Professor Niewyk tells us of one particular

effort, that of the SPD in the Weimar period, to deal with anti-Semitism. One can criticize Niewyk in several ways. First of all, he sets up straw men. On the very first page of his book, we are told that several authors who have emphasized the deep-rooted nature of German anti-Semitism, Peter Viereck, Rohan D'O. Butler, and George L. Mosse, believed in a "uniquely German 'national character.'" One would hope that Professor Niewyk could differentiate between the historical/cultural conditioning emphasized by all three authors and the notion of a racially determined national character. Moreover, virtually all who have written on the radical Right in Germany have emphasized that it was primarily a bourgeois phenomenon and that therefore it was usually not found in working-class parties. Thus, Professor Niewyk's portrayal of the SPD's struggle against anti-Semitism does not offer too many surprises. Also, the author tends to imitate a characteristic evidenced by many in the SPD circles he describes. He plays down the role of anti-Semitism as being of secondary importance in explaining the success of the Nazis. Niewyk has an important point to make here. A substantial burden of proof rests on him, however, and, in addressing himself to it, he is not entirely successful.

These criticisms aside, Professor Niewyk's work is the first one devoted exclusively to describing SPD resistance to anti-Semitism during the Weimar period. He has brought together a great many sources and, in his consideration of SPD opposition to efforts to expel *Ostjuden* from Bavaria and the Rhineland, he has covered an area rarely mentioned. Furthermore, in his consideration of the, at times, virulent anti-Semitism displayed by the KPD, the author raises an issue of great importance today. For these reasons, his book is of considerable value and is well worth reading.

It is worth reading for another reason. Niewyk's work demonstrates the futility of confronting the forces described by Poliakov with reason and common sense. A Marxist humanism—in part rooted in the same Enlightenment traditions that led to scientific racism—could hardly have dealt successfully with a phenomenon that was deeply rooted in phylogenetic perversion. Much less could it deal with it by attempting to meet it on its own grounds, that is, by taking its arguments seriously enough to refute them rationally. Professor Niewyk's descriptions of the SPD's efforts to defend the Jews of Germany against right-wing vilification, besides exciting our admiration, must also

awaken in us a sense of frustration. The SPD was fighting a hopeless battle against that fearsome side of the human spirit which, out of deep existential dread, seeks to dehumanize most men while elevating some to being gods.

ROBERT A. POIS
University of Colorado,
Boulder

IMMANUEL WALLERSTEIN. *The Modern World-System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century*. (Studies in Social Discontinuity.) New York: Academic Press. 1974. Pp. xiv, 410. \$16.50.

Professor Wallerstein has undertaken an ambitious project: to trace the development of the modern world, or "world-system" as he terms it, from the time the European economy first became a world economy to the present. This volume covers the years 1450–1640; three more volumes are projected.

The volume under review is both difficult and important. It is a *grande synthèse Braudelienne*, tying together arguments, facts, and data drawn from almost one thousand secondary sources. The author deserves our applause for such a bold undertaking, as does the publisher, a division of Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, for agreeing to the extensive—and expensive—footnotes, which sometimes take up more than half of each page.

It is impossible, in a short review, to do more than recapitulate Wallerstein's major thesis. He argues that three things were necessary for the establishment of a capitalist world economy: first, the expansion of Europe; second, the development of different forms of labor control for different regions within the world economy; and third, the creation of strong state machineries in the core states, that is, the states of northwest Europe. He takes us through each of these, analytically and chronologically. Although his debt to Marx, Marxist historians, and other sociologists is obvious, he avoids the obscurantist jargon that sometimes mars their work. In general, Wallerstein argues his points with vigor and clarity, pushes his analysis as far as possible, and questions his own arguments point by point. As he says, "It is not enough to be convincing." Wallerstein seeks the truth, even though he recognizes that truth is a function of the present social system.

Any work that ranges across two hundred years of history with almost the entire world as a stage will inevitably arouse the critical ire

of specialists working in each area. Wallerstein's handling of the subject I know best—the rural society of England—is not wholly convincing. For instance, he blames enclosure for pasture for depopulation and its resultant vagabondage. He then mentions that enclosure for tillage was the course followed by the yeoman, who thereby expanded grain production. But Wallerstein inadequately acknowledges the role of population growth in the creation of vagabonds or a mass of underemployed cottage laborers. Squatters everywhere sought a bit of land to till, and those that could find none thronged the roads. This social dislocation, it seems, was less a result of any new economic spirit than the consequence of mindless population growth. To mention another problem, Wallerstein wisely defines "gentry," but his definition—that it was a capitalist class in formation—does little to illuminate the structure of a rapidly changing but still status-oriented rural society. It makes R. H. Tawney's theory about the "rising gentry" a truism—the gentry is defined as those people who were rising—and therefore a useless category. If it can be shown, however, that the gentry, defined as a legal entity, had also certain unique economic capabilities vis-à-vis other legal entities in the society, we should have a historical fact of great importance.

These may be mere quibbles. The great value of the work is precisely that it has offered a paradigm of the transformation to modern capitalism. As I define it, a paradigm is a broad, loose, but coherent explanation that cannot be tested; it is simply too big and too imprecise. But it generates models that can be tested against the empirical evidence. If too many models prove to be false, the paradigm must be discarded. The models themselves have little importance aside from the paradigm. Many historians dislike talk of paradigms, models, and the like, but historians run the risk of drowning in their own data. Only by articulating some conscious theoretical scheme can we avoid the dust bins of antiquarianism. Social scientists like Wallerstein can help with the schematic conception. On the other hand, historians usually use their data carefully, and this attention to detail can be useful to social science, to prick a conceptual bubble built on false data. Anyone concerned with these interactions should read Wallerstein's impressive attempt to bring order to the confusing social and economic transformation of early modern Europe and its impact on the rest of the world.

ANDREW B. APPLEBY
San Diego State University

ALESSANDRO ROVERI, editor. *La missione Consalvi e il Congresso di Vienna*. First Series: 1814–1830. Volume 1 (7 maggio 1814–29 settembre 1814); volume 2 (1 ottobre 1814–30 gennaio 1815); volume 3 (1 febbraio 1815–23 giugno 1815). (Fonti per la storia d'Italia. Documenti per la storia delle relazioni diplomatiche fra le grandi Potenze europee e gli Stati italiani, 1814–1830. Part 3, Rapporti tra Stati europei.) Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per l'Età Moderna e Contemporanea. 1970; 1971; 1973. Pp. xv, 566; x, 624; 696. L. 5,500; L. 5,500; L. 8,000.

This work consists of documents covering the activities of Cardinal Consalvi in his preparation for and participation in the Congress of Vienna. It contains 350 documents: 194 dispatches from Cardinal Consalvi to Cardinal Pacca, the papal acting secretary of state, 141 dispatches from Pacca to Consalvi, and 15 other related documents and reports. Consalvi's mission was to achieve the restoration of the papal power, both temporal and spiritual. He was to obtain the return of all the provinces of the Papal States from the victorious allies, the re-establishment of papal jurisdiction over the Church organization in the Catholic countries, and permission for free papal communication with the Catholic hierarchy in Protestant countries. In short, he sought to rebuild all structures destroyed by Napoleon.

Upon the fall of Napoleon, Pope Pius VII, released from confinement, hastened to Rome. Before reaching the capital he dispatched Cardinal Consalvi, once again his secretary of state, to Paris with letters and briefs for the rulers of Austria, Russia, Prussia, and France. When Consalvi reached Paris the allied rulers had left for London; he followed them there, and was received by the tsar, the Austrian emperor, the Prussian king, the prince regent of England, and their ministers. He was back in Paris in July and August, attempting in vain to work out some compromise for the reorganization of the Catholic Church in France and its relation with Rome. Early in September he journeyed to Vienna as papal plenipotentiary to the congress.

Like the representatives of the other small powers, Consalvi was more an observer than a participant. As the military weight of the Papal States was nil, Consalvi could hope to accomplish his mission only through the patronage of a great power. He soon found out that the great powers were watching out for their own interests, and he reported from London in June 1814 that "on the support of the Royal

Courts we can count very little, if at all. They are all well disposed toward His Holiness, they esteem and respect him, but their own interests come before everything else" (1: 114). He thought at first of winning the support of Talleyrand, and from Turin he requested and received authorization to offer the cardinal's Red Hat to the French diplomat (1: 34, 72). But he soon realized that all things Italian were the exclusive province of Austria and quickly established a close relationship with Metternich.

Since the great powers had no conflicting interests in Italy they laid aside the Italian settlement temporarily. Meanwhile Metternich kept Consalvi well informed on the pressing issues that were soon to divide the allies and restore France to a great power status. In this realignment of forces Consalvi decided to keep neutral "as much and as long as [he] could," and found the task quite difficult (2: 85). Although he believed in the principles of legitimacy and territorial status quo, he avoided Talleyrand when the latter began to advocate them, so as not to take side against Austria (2: 112). When Talleyrand urged him to invoke the legitimacy principle against Murat, he declined and wrote home that Talleyrand "wanted to get his chestnut out of the fire with our paw" (3: 149).

Eventually Consalvi succeeded in his mission beyond his fondest hopes, partly because of his diplomatic skill, but even more because of the changed situation caused by Napoleon's flight from Elba and Murat's military venture in Italy. He obtained the return of all the old provinces of the Papal States with the exception of Avignon and some minor boundary adjustments on the left bank of the Po. He worked out agreements for the concordats concluded later on with all the important Catholic powers, with the exception of Austria, whose emperor was still under the spell of the Josephinism of his early years (3: 463).

During his diplomatic mission Consalvi remained conscious of his responsibilities as secretary of state, that is, chief administrator of the papal domain. In numerous dispatches he expressed deep concern about reports of reactionary policies established in the recently liberated papal provinces. Time and again he warned Rome that such policies were turning public opinion abroad against the papal government, making it more difficult to regain the lost territories; and that they were also likely to swell the number of "malcontents" at home, with the consequent danger of new revolutionary

explosions. He suggested a policy of moderation toward the rank-and-file "collaborators" in the Napoleonic regimes, reserving severe measures only for the leaders; and he urged the grant of a greater share in the government to the laity, to weaken the widespread resentment against "priestly rule." It was the policy Consalvi himself followed with success for the balance of the reign of Pius VII. It may be significant that under his absolute, but honest and enlightened rule, the Papal States remained quiet at the time of the Piedmontese and Neapolitan revolutions of 1821; but that they rebelled in 1831, after eight years of repressive government by later administrations.

At the death of Pius VII in 1823 Consalvi retired, and a few months later died. Perhaps because his retirement was cut short Consalvi never set down in writing his recollections and conclusions about the momentous events which occurred in the quarter century he governed the Papal States. If he had, it would have been a work of wit and wisdom, for in these hastily written dispatches he reveals a keen mind and considerable writing skill.

JOSEPH ROSSI

University of Arizona

PIERRE THIBAUT. *Savoir et pouvoir: Philosophie thomiste et politique cléricale au XIX^e siècle*. Preface by ÉMILE POULAT. (Histoire et sociologie de la culture, number 2.) Quebec: Presses de l'Université Laval. 1972. Pp. xxviii, 252. \$10.00.

This book deals with the genesis, structure, and function of Thomism in the Catholic Church in the nineteenth century, especially after Leo XIII's *Aeterni Patris* (1879) began a mild intellectual *Gleichschaltung* to force Catholics to accept Aquinas as "the apostle for modern times." As Leo XIII made brutally clear to Maurice d'Hulst in 1881, when the abbé was still tainted by a residual clerical Cartesianism, total conversion to Thomism was required of all those expecting papal favor. Even Catholic thinkers like Maurice Blondel and Edouard Le Roy would pay a price for deviation from traditionalist-Thomist ideas. Thibault's book is also a "settling of accounts" for generations of *Québécois*, the captive audience of teachers who, backed by clerical and political authority, tried to make them followers of an ideology based on the "natural and evident" Aristotelian-Thomist universe. The leitmotif of the book is the claim, well sustained and neatly argued, that Thomism was revived as an ideology by a few politicized, peripheral Italian Jesuits and

promoted by Leo XIII because of its potential for maximizing priestly power.

One of the strong virtues of Thibault's work is its attention to Thomism outside France, especially in Italy, where the Jesuit *Civiltà Cattolica* played a large role. Less attention is paid to Germany and Spain (chiefly Balme), but this is reasonable, given the aim of the work. Since the basic *Bibliografia Balmesiana* (1961) of Juan de Dios Mendoza runs to 272 pages, however, the few references to "la gran figura del pensament catòlic català" seem unduly limited. Most of the work is based on standard secondary studies, which is not surprising in the case of non-French movements, but it is curious for France. A study of relevant nineteenth-century periodical literature would have given the work a more solid foundation and a far richer historical context. This defect does not destroy the value of the author's ingenious synthesis as a basis for his argument concerning the revival of Thomism, with its doctrine of indirect sacerdotal power, as an ideology capable of permitting the Church to come to terms with the triumphs of national sovereignty in the nineteenth century.

Sticking close to his thesis, Thibault does not deal with important developments in science and in the philosophy of science, especially after the 1870s, that made the revival of Thomism intellectually respectable. *Aeterni Patris* does not ignore the new intellectual climate. The revival of interest in Aristotle outside clerical circles, the importance of Aristotle for Driesch, who was influential in Maritain's thought, and the admission of lectures on Scholasticism in the Sorbonne are part of a general recognition of the serious intellectual nature of Aristotelian and medieval thought. As Pierre Duhem argued in 1905, on a cosmological level, the physics of Aristotle and of Scholasticism, stripped of their "outworn and demoded scientific clothing," resembled "modern" physical theory; "we recognize in these two doctrines two pictures of the same ontological order, distinct because they are taken from a different point of view, but in no way discordant." Without this context, the revival of a Scholasticism as a viable philosophy for the nineteenth century remains a hopeless intellectual paradox. This reservation does not necessarily imply Popperian doubts about the explanatory value of the sociology of knowledge.

Émile Poulat, whose key works in the sociology of religion should be better known in the Anglo-Saxon world, has written a useful and incisive preface to this work, which, it should

be noted, is testimony to the fertility of the Mannheimian idea of the specific connection between interest groups and their modes of thought. This *thèse d'université* deserves a *thèse de recherche* as a successor.

H. W. PAUL

University of Florida

TAGE KAARSTED. *Storbritannien og Danmark 1914-1920* [Great Britain and Denmark 1914-1920]. (Odense University Studies in History and Social Sciences, volume 17.) Odense: Odense University Press. 1974. Pp. 239. 60 D. kr.

Kaarsted took note that there was not in Danish any real treatment of Danish-English relations during World War I and found that English sources had little about them. He decided to write for Danish readers the story of these eventful years from the British point of view, and in 175 pages of text has done so. Sources and notes occupy thirty-one pages; a summary in English, by chapter, fifteen; and a personal index, seven. The volume is well written, well printed, and carefully proofread.

England tried to get out of Denmark all she could, and so did Germany. Denmark knew that she remained unoccupied merely because it did not suit Germany to take the country; England knew that she could neither occupy Denmark herself nor, if Denmark were attacked, successfully defend it. No one mentioned such things; everyone recognized them and acted accordingly. The situation, seemingly so precarious, continued for over four years, and Denmark was as neutral in November 1918 as she had been in August 1914.

The English had strong ties with Denmark. The king and his brother were linked by blood and marriage with the House of Windsor. Men in the Danish general staff, in the navy, and in the overseas Danish commercial companies not only had British sympathies, but saw to it that information went to London about all that occurred in Denmark. The Asquith Liberals and the coalitions under him and Lloyd George were, however, far to the right of most Danish political thought. The Germans, on the other hand, had the backing of the ruling Danish political party, the Social Democrats. After all, in Germany the Social Democrats were the largest political party, and when war began they swung to the support of the Kaiser. Eric Scavenius, the Danish premier, was German-minded, and looked leniently on all who saw to it that Germany was aided and kept informed of all that could help her. Had

it not been so deadly serious, it might have called to mind: "See-saw, Marjory Daw; Jenny shall have a new master!"

From time to time there were troubles about naval activity, but in general these were of small account. England increased surveillance on Danish imports to make sure that these were not re-exported to Germany, but did not go too far as long as Danish butter, eggs, and bacon came to English breakfast tables. In the last eighteen months of the war Danish importation of fertilizer, readily remade into "nitros" for explosives, was cut drastically, and living became much harder for the Danes; but even when exports to Germany more than doubled, the English remained understanding and relatively friendly.

When Germany was beaten, England championed Danish claims to Schleswig, and even tried to give the Danes more than they really felt they could digest of that uneasy province. Denmark had great value as a way station on the road to the Baltic ports of Russia, and was valued and supported by England with that in mind. To Kaarsted, the policy of the British navy, Foreign Office, Treasury, and Ministry of Blockade seemed pragmatic, logical, consequent and sympathetic, and to the reader of his pages the conclusion arrived at is the same.

A companion study of Germany and Denmark during the same years seems to be called for. This is a general treatment, not a detailed day-by-day account. There are, however, clear and sharp pictures of persons involved, and incisive judgments of the actions taken, not so often of the when, but of the how and the why. Much use is made of material that did not become available until after World War II, and that which private individuals had put into archives with time restrictions on its release. All of this gives the work additional value. The verdict on the study must be that it is well done.

FRANCIS J. BOWMAN
Manson, Iowa

PIERRE BLET *et al.*, editors. *Le Saint Siège et les victimes de la guerre, janvier 1941-décembre 1942.* (Secrétairerie d'État de Sa Sainteté. Actes et documents du Saint Siège relatifs à la seconde guerre mondiale, number 8.) Vatican City: Librerie Editrice Vaticana. 1974. Pp. xxviii, 806.

This most recent volume of diplomatic papers from the Vatican archives is the second in the series on victims of the war (the first was reviewed in *AHR*, 79 [1974]: 508-10). This vol-

ume covers the period when Germany and Italy were at the height of their power and were reluctant to negotiate on a diplomatic level. The main topics are prisoners of war, emigration and deportation of Jews, racial laws, and the treatment of hostages.

The Vatican's attempts to lessen the tragic fates of those caught up in the war were often unsuccessful or disappointing. Officials of the Holy See were forced to realize the narrow limits of the authority of the Church and its lack of power over Catholic officials in other countries. As Monsignor Domenico Tardini noted in July 1942, in connection with the deportation of Jews from Slovakia, "The bad thing is that the President of Slovakia is a priest. Everybody understands that the Holy See cannot control Hitler. But who will understand that it cannot control a priest?" (p. 598).

As in the case of previous volumes, this is a well-edited collection of documents that will materially add to our understanding of the problems of the Church in World War II.

GEORGE O. KENT
University of Maryland,
College Park

HUGH HECLO. *Modern Social Politics in Britain and Sweden: From Relief to Income Maintenance.* (Yale Studies in Political Science, 25.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 1974. Pp. xii, 349. \$15.00.

This book is written by a political scientist interested in discovering more about the contribution of politics to the shaping of modern social policies in Britain and Sweden. What part have political parties and elections, pressure groups, civil servants, and individual reformers played in the timing and content of social policy changes in the two countries? The author takes unemployment insurance, old-age pensions, and state superannuation—three related methods of maintaining incomes through public policy—as case studies of the political forces at work. Over two-thirds of the book is devoted to a historical survey of developments in these policies. The aim is not, however, to rewrite history, but to "reanalyze the history that has been written and to do so with an eye to more general political/policy relationships in comparative sites." How far was the development of, for example, unemployment insurance in Britain and Sweden due to the electoral bidding of political parties for working class votes, to trade union and socialist pressure, to enlightened civil servants, or to a random

mixture of all these factors at a particular stage of economic development? The analysis makes it easier to see why some factors carried more political weight in one country than in the other, but it is less successful in assessing their relative importance within the same country. The conclusion the author tentatively reaches is that while political parties, elections, interest groups, administrators, and individual reformers have all played an important part at one time or another, the most pervasive influence has been the perceived failings of previous policy. In other words, the most important impetus for change has come from a process of political learning through policy. The trouble with this interpretation, as the author himself recognizes, is that it does not explain why the learning process in the two countries expressed itself in different policy responses. The book raises questions that only painstaking historical investigation can hope to answer. But it does at least provide the historian with some useful insights.

DAVID WIGHTMAN
University of Birmingham

DAVID BEERS QUINN. *England and the Discovery of America, 1481-1620. From the Bristol Voyages of the Fifteenth Century to the Pilgrim Settlement at Plymouth: The Exploration, Exploitation, and Trial-by-Error Colonization of North America by the English*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1974. Pp. xxiv, 497, xviii. \$15.00.

Professor David B. Quinn has spent many years investigating the early exploration of the North American coast, and few authorities are better equipped to make pronouncements on possible pre-Columbian contacts by Europeans. Although he has found no new or definitive proof, he makes a good circumstantial case for discovery by "Bristol men" of North America at least before John Cabot's voyage of 1497. This suggestion is based on the John Day letter found in the archives of Simancas in 1956 by Dr. Louis A. Vigneras. Quinn provides a useful discussion of Vigneras's interpretation of the Day letter and its implication for the history of discoveries. He concludes that "the question of when the early discovery mentioned in the Day letter took place cannot be answered with any degree of finality unless and until further evidence can be found to clarify the matter beyond doubt." But he suggests that the "least unlikely date . . . was 1481 or thereabouts."

Quinn's book appeared before Yale revealed

that it had been taken in by the fraudulent Vinland Map. Consequently the author devoted a number of pages to discussing the implications of this map without committing himself on its authenticity beyond stating somewhat hopefully that "if it is genuine, it belongs to a chapter in the growth of Atlantic concepts which is relevant to English experience."

The speculations on possible early discoveries in the first few chapters of Quinn's volume are interesting rather than convincing, but the remainder of the volume contains much solid information, carefully documented, that scholars will find valuable and convenient even if many of the facts are already well known. The last section, "Preludes to Permanent Settlement," contains some new information. For example, Quinn prints and discusses a report in a newly discovered document from the Hatfield House archives of the appearance of Indians rowing a canoe on the Thames in 1603. A final chapter, "The Lost Colony in Myth and Reality, 1586-1625," summarizes what is known about Raleigh's colony on Roanoke Island and discusses the most plausible theories about its disappearance.

Perhaps the most valuable contribution that Quinn makes is the synthesis that his book provides of recent scholarship on early American exploration, much of it original work by Quinn himself. The bibliography significantly is entitled "Books and Articles on American Exploration and Colonization by David Beers Quinn." It is useful to have all his works conveniently listed. This book is highly serviceable as a reference work on the subject.

LOUIS B. WRIGHT
National Geographic Society

JOHN PHILLIPS. *The Reformation of Images: Destruction of Art in England, 1535-1660*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1973. Pp. xiii, 228. \$10.00.

Dr. Phillips has chosen a most important and fascinating subject for his book, but he has not given it the treatment it deserves. To a great extent this was a deliberate decision on his part. In his introduction Phillips admits that a thorough analysis of the Catholic and Puritan theologies would be useful, but he forswears any such study in depth. He also says that a complete catalog of the artistic heritage of the Church and of the items destroyed or reformed would be a major contribution. This too he has declined to provide, it being too vast an effort for a single historian. And last, he has also

refused to discuss images and their destruction as a problem in the history of art and esthetics. Phillips's stated purpose it to trace in chronological order the ups and downs of iconoclasm and to show how at each stage it represented a "complex interplay of social, political, economic and theological forces along with simple human greed and cantankerousness" (p. 9). Alas, even the attempted accomplishment of this one goal is not a complete success. What Phillips has done is to state briefly the role of images in the medieval Church, to point out the ancient, Byzantine, and Lollard attacks upon the worship of "graven images," and then to describe the official policy of Church and state toward images reign by reign from Henry VIII's break with Rome to the Restoration of Charles II. It is an intrinsically interesting story, and it is presented in an easily read and understandable form. But the whole is still a survey that never really digs beneath the surface of theological argument and a listing of examples. The "complex interplay" of forces comes through more clearly in the statement than in the analysis. There is little of significant value for the reader with even a fair knowledge of Tudor-Stuart politics and religion.

He concludes by saying that a century and a half of intermittent iconoclasm had finally done its work. The relationship between art and religion would never be the same after the Restoration. Art would become more secularized as a consequence of being divorced from religion. Religion too would change. Substitutes for the old images of the Trinity and the saints had to be found. One substitute was the monarchical state and its symbols, another was the "undefiled" Word of God as propounded in Puritan pulpits. Phillips might have added that the secularization of art was eventually to be followed by the secularization of religion as well. Iconoclasm was an effort to restore the purity of the primitive Church; what it achieved was a growing secularism.

STUART E. PRALL
Queens College,
City University of New York

SAMUEL RHEA GAMMON. *Statesman and Schemer: William, First Lord Paget, Tudor Minister*. Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books. 1973. Pp. 296. \$13.50.

William Paget was an ambitious man who loved and respected power and—apart from a happy family life—had little love or respect to spare for anyone or anything else. He was a shear-

man's son who rose to be a peer of the realm, and he served four of the five Tudors from Henry VIII to Elizabeth I; but it is hardly surprising that neither Elizabeth nor her ministers trusted this archetypal vicar of Bray. She was willing to listen to his advice but she gave him no job.

In spite of the range of his appointments (including the offices of ambassador, chancellor of the Exchequer, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, secretary of state, and Lord Privy Seal) he attracted no biographer until Dr. S. R. Gammon began work on him some twenty-five years ago. The result is a clear narrative account of his career based on calendars and original materials. The diplomatic aspects appeal most to the author as they probably did to Paget himself; and we can watch his evolution from the Reformation onward as a *politique* who believed that it is better to leave the struggle about theology to the next world while dealing with the urgent matters of this. Today he would no doubt be called a realist since the word is now applied to people in government and diplomacy who understand power but not principle; but it led Paget into the extraordinary and unrealistic position of pressing Mary Tudor to marry Philip II. Paget was also what we might call a social *politique* in that he foresaw, and prepared for, the destruction of Somerset's authority when he embarked on an agrarian policy he did not have the power to carry through. The analysis of their relations is well done.

This is a fair and interesting account of Paget's career, but the book's references have a historic character of their own. For, as far as Gammon is concerned, a good many historians have, during the last twenty-five years, labored in vain. We have no references to W. K. Jordan, W. C. Richardson, or Mary Dewar; and (*sancta simplicitas!*) G. R. Elton is represented solely by his Ph.D. thesis completed in 1948! We have a bizarre feeling that some of this book has only recently emerged from the deep freeze.

JOEL HURSTFIELD
University College London

JOEL SAMAHA. *Law and Order in Historical Perspective: The Case of Elizabethan Essex*. (Studies in Social Discontinuity.) New York: Academic Press. 1974. Pp. xvi, 176. \$9.95.

Samaha presents an impressive array of statistics drawn from the records of the Essex County Record Office to illustrate the close relationship between socioeconomic developments and the

enforcement of criminal law in the local courts. The increase in the number of nonviolent felonies during the last decade of the reign was "spawned by a mixture of rising prices, lower wages, and the proletarianization of labor in the countryside." The result was a growing concern on the part of the propertied classes, those with little as well as those with much, for their own economic security. They were one with the government at Westminster in their fear of social unrest. Their stress, like that of their peers today, was on law and order rather than on inquiry into the underlying demographic and economic roots of the unrest. And so, since these men administered the law and the courts, we have a marked increase in the number of arrests and the severity of penalties.

The essay illustrates both the strength and the weakness of the quantitative statistical approach to history, currently so fashionable. Fortunately Samaha is aware of the limitations of the method. The court rolls are "meagre repositories of the intimate details surrounding the commission of particular crimes." We cannot know whether the defendant was a drifter or a hard-working victim of unemployment. The information is simply not available. The author must therefore have recourse to his general knowledge of the social conditions of the period and the locality. We can be grateful that he does. Much that is good in the essay stems from his broad understanding of the social history of the reign and of the county of Essex. And Essex provides a good paradigm of Elizabethan government at work. The county itself, in the range of its social and demographic patterns, is remarkably representative, its power structure almost too perfectly so, with three nouveau Tudor families, the Petres, the Mildmays, and the Riches, dominating the local scene in close harmony with the ever vigilant Privy Council. Samaha cautions us against generalizing from his study, but until we have comparable studies of many other counties, this essay will have value well beyond that of mere local history.

W. M. SOUTHGATE
Denison University

J. D. CHAMBERS. *Population, Economy, and Society in Pre-Industrial England*. Edited with a preface and introduction by W. A. ARMSTRONG. (Oxford Paperbacks University Series.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1972. Pp. viii, 162. \$2.95.

The late J. D. Chambers, for many years a teacher of economic history at Nottingham

University, was one of the pioneers of the post-war revival of interest in demographic history. His *Vale of Trent* (1957) was one of the key early works showing how useful the close demographic study of a limited area might be. A few years before his death, Professor Chambers was invited to give a series of lectures at the University of Kent, Canterbury, during May 1967. These have now been prepared for publication by his former student, W. A. Armstrong. In these lectures Professor Chambers sought to present the fruits of several decades of reading and thinking about population change and economic growth, assimilating his own work into that of newer workers in the field. The result is a stimulating, scholarly, thought-provoking, yet personal introduction to the state of the question in 1967 that will have its lessons for old hands and yet can be recommended as an excellent introduction for beginners.

Professor Chambers sought to avoid the either/or formulation so current, by which *either* changes in the death rate *or* changes in the birth rate must be made to account for population growth in the eighteenth century. In a survey going back to the Middle Ages, he attempts to suggest a model that allows for the conjuncture or interplay of an "autonomous" or economically exogenous death rate with patterns of marriage and fertility that are socially conditioned (and approach the economically endogenous). I found his representation of the interplay singularly fair-minded and judicious and, as far as a nonexpert can perceive, still quite up to date. I found the model most interesting when applied to the century 1660-1760, usually regarded as one of almost no population growth when compared with the periods immediately preceding or following it. Instead, Chambers shows us a century of marked if spotty growth. When the autonomous death rate lifted its heavy restricting pressure after the last visitation of the plague in the 1660s, significant population growth ensued, particularly in the decades 1690-1720, which Chambers calculates experienced as rapid growth as the decades after 1760. A high average age of marriage was not enough to hold down this population growth, which was only checked by the visitation of a congeries of non-plague epidemics in the generation 1720-40. These diseases and the resulting population standstill of 1720-40 are made to account for the agricultural and general economic stagnation that lasted until mid-century, while marked population advance, causing higher agricultural prices and increased rural demand, are his

basic explanation for the general buoyancy of the economy both during 1690–1720 and after 1760. This stimulating and well-argued thesis constitutes a most worthy memento of one of the most original of the pioneer generation of economic historians who created the study of economic history in British universities between the wars.

JACOB M. PRICE
*University of Michigan,
Ann Arbor*

JAMES F. LARKIN, C.S.V., and PAUL L. HUGHES, editors. *Stuart Royal Proclamations*. Volume 1, *Royal Proclamations of King James I, 1603–1625*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1973. Pp. xxxiv, 679. \$58.00.

ALAN G. R. SMITH, editor. *The Reign of James VI and I*. (Problems in Focus Series.) New York: St. Martin's Press. 1973. Pp. 264. \$12.95.

A superb collection of documents for the study of the reign of James I is now available in Larkin's and Hughes's edition of the 267 royal proclamations known to survive from James's years as king of England. This large, handsomely produced, and rather expensive volume continues the same editors' justly valued three volumes of Tudor royal proclamations. Almost half the proclamations included here are reprinted for the first time since James's death. The annotations are slightly more elaborate than in the preceding volumes, and anyone consulting a particular proclamation will usually find a detailed account of the circumstances surrounding its origin. Reversing a previous policy of textual modernization that troubled some of their reviewers, the editors have this time retained the original spelling, punctuation, and paragraphing of their texts. Among the studies the present volume makes possible is one on the social ideals of seventeenth-century governments as shown in the stream of often minutely detailed regulations for the correction of social and economic abuses that issued in these proclamations. Apart from a few references to seditious books and other forms of popular dissent and some complaints about refractory parliaments, the proclamations show no evidence of the governmental crisis of James's last years. As it has been calculated that proclamations were issued most frequently during Tudor times in periods of governmental weakness or instability, it is worth noting that the number of proclamations issued per year increases only slightly in the last years of the reign.

The finished product rather than the raw

materials of scholarship is found in *The Reign of James VI and I*, a well-written collection of essays by several hands, including "The Scottish Church 1567–1625" by Gordon Donaldson, "The English Catholic Community 1603–1625" by John Bossy, "The English Local Community and Local Government" by G. C. F. Forster, and an essay on Scottish and English witchcraft by Christina Lerner. The purpose of the collection is to sum up what is already known rather than to attempt innovations. It does, however, contain an ambitious though not wholly convincing attempt by Jennifer M. Brown, in her essay "Scottish Politics 1567–1625," to reverse the accepted image of sixteenth-century Scotland as a country cursed by a turbulent and overpowerful nobility and to show that James contented himself with trying to work with the nobility instead of seeking to crush them. The volume unfortunately lacks essays on James's foreign policy, the Church of England, and the life of the common man in Jacobean England, though a few good paragraphs on the "grim" life of the latter appear in Alan Smith's introduction. Austere readers will be troubled by what seems an excessive tendency of the authors to approach the problems they discuss through the personality of the king.

ROYCE MACGILLIVRAY
University of Waterloo

VICTOR D. SUTCH. *Gilbert Sheldon, Architect of Anglican Survival, 1640–1675*. (International Archives of the History of Ideas, Series Minor, 12.) The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1973. Pp. viii, 184. 25 gls.

Gilbert Sheldon (1598–1677) rose from relative obscurity to the wardenship of All Souls, Oxford, prior to the Civil War. With the Restoration he became bishop of London (1660–63) and archbishop of Canterbury (1663–77). For more than thirty years he provided Charles I and II with advice and service. To Oxonians he is perhaps best known for the Sheldonian Theatre; to Londoners for St. Paul's. Despite these and other accomplishments, he has not been the subject of much study. Indeed, this is only the second attempt at a biographical study, and this does not purport to be a full biography. Mr. Sutch merely surveys the first forty-two years, and much of the remainder of the archbishop's life is only sketchily covered because of the disappearance of most of Sheldon's papers. Perhaps the most glaring voids in the primate's life are the person and the pastoralist. Sutch has found only three extant sermons and

little else to shed light on Sheldon's thought. As a consequence, little is said about the personal and intellectual sides of the archbishop, except that he was not a Laudian in theology and that he was not an imaginative person.

For these reasons, Sutch has elected to concentrate on Sheldon's activities during the Civil War and Cromwellian years, at the Restoration, and as a defender and administrator of the restored Church of England. His treatment of these topics is uneven in both quantity and quality. For the Civil War and Cromwellian years he relies heavily on materials employed by Robert S. Boshier in *Making of the Restoration Settlement* (1951) and adds little. For the Restoration Settlement he follows Boshier's interpretations on most points and fails to acknowledge the existence of very different views in a number of articles and books that have appeared over the past ten or more years. Among these is my *English Presbyterians and the Stuart Restoration, 1648-1663* (1965), which should be compared with Sutch and Boshier, especially since Sutch presents no new evidence.

With the elevation of Sheldon to Canterbury, Sutch turns to matters that have been examined in less detail, though Walter G. Simon in *The Restoration Episcopate* (1965) did look at some of them. The archepiscopal years are represented by hundreds of letters to and from Sheldon. These are primarily of a political or administrative nature and convince Sutch that the archbishop was a principal drafter and promoter of the Conventicles Act of 1664 and the Five Mile Act of 1665 and that he had the assistance of Clarendon throughout. The evidence for the first point is rather conclusive, but Clarendon's contribution to the adoption of these two measures is less certain. Sutch successfully demonstrates that Sheldon was especially active in organizing the bishops and others in behalf of conformity and of the Anglican Church and that he was equally active in promoting enforcement of the laws against dissenters. But Sheldon worked fully as hard along positive lines. He took great pains to find and promote able and dedicated clergy, to augment clerical incomes, to build or rebuild churches, to provide care and charity for the ill and the poor, and to improve the image of the Church. It is unfortunate that Sutch did not develop these sides of Sheldon's career more fully, for the negative side has been stressed by contemporary and later writers. This must stand as the better of the two biographical studies of the archbishop, but it will stand as an incomplete and imperfect work open to question on a number of

interpretations. Only discovery of the missing papers will permit much better.

GEORGE R. ABERNATHY, JR.
University of North Carolina,
Charlotte

RAY A. KELCH. *Newcastle. A Duke without Money: Thomas Pelham-Holles, 1693-1768*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1974. Pp. x, 222. \$12.00.

We have recently learned, mostly from the work of Lawrence Stone, to investigate the unusual resilience of the English aristocracy's power in the early modern era by looking into its means of, and alertness in, maximizing income, its pattern of expenditure, and the interplay of landed wealth, law, and politics. The eighteenth-century aristocracy has received less attention of this sort, and this book, a study of the duke of Newcastle's personal finances, is therefore to be welcomed.

It will disappoint many economic historians. Although it contains some valuable analyses of overall income and expenditure, the statistical treatment tends to be episodic, and all too often the reader's view of the estate's finances is no better than the duke's. This is unfortunate because the duke's perception of his estate costs and rent rolls was dim. As a result, answers to such questions as whether Newcastle's rents and costs were typical, or whether they reveal any interesting trends, remain lost in a shadowy perimeter. Apparently Newcastle's surviving estate records do not permit analysis of such matters. The book's contribution to economic history therefore lies elsewhere, in tracing the expedients by which the duke managed to overspend his income on so grand a scale. (He ran through about £320,000 in a lifetime.) In doing so it reveals graphically the process by which landholdings were converted to spendable income.

Notwithstanding lots of good advice, Newcastle plunged ever onward into debt. Why? The author's answer is of interest to political historians. He concludes that "political expenditure" was not the main cause. Instead, it was extravagance: maintaining and improving five residences, horses and hounds, trying to grow melons in the English climate, banquets and entertainments, and so on. Craving affection as well as distinction, the duke used his vast inheritance to buy it. This puts him in a rather ordinary category of aristocrats who indulged in conspicuous consumption. The point is important because if any single man has epitomized

the grand aristocracy of eighteenth-century England it is Newcastle, for the very reason that he is believed to have spent his energies and fortune, not on extravagance, but on politics and public service.

But is the author's conclusion correct? In a narrow sense, respecting electioneering expenses, it probably is. In a broader sense, respecting the unremitting costs of maintaining political influence at the county and national levels, it should be doubted. On this latter point the author's assertions are sometimes equivocal, and adequate statistical support is lacking; as he acknowledges, it is very difficult in some areas to draw a line between mere extravagance and costs of maintaining power. Therefore, readers may reasonably continue to fix their attention on how well Newcastle's assortment of expenditures was designed to serve broad political ends, and to ponder why it was that a man of such ordinary "parts," as all contemporaries agreed, should have held high office so long.

Although not intended to be a complete biography, the book penetrates the duke's personality and exhibits admirably his delights and anxieties, his relationships with his wife and his brother, his good nature, and his unswerving probity. The duke was a gentleman, and it is the best part of the author's achievement to make his dedication to politics seem so completely in character.

DANIEL A. BAUGH
Cornell University

N. L. TRANTER. *Population since the Industrial Revolution: The Case of England and Wales*. New York: Barnes and Noble. 1973. Pp. 206. \$13.50.

The question of the relation between population growth and industrialization has long been standard fare in the syllabus of undergraduates studying the Industrial Revolution. Currently, however, it has assumed a special interest and relevance, partly because of contemporary concern with the population problem in today's developing countries and partly because new techniques of demographic analysis and research have thrown a wholly new light on the past record. Hence the recent flood of new textbooks on demographic history of which this one is the latest.

Since there are now some excellent texts available, Tranter's book faces strong competition. Its principal strength is that the author is clearly excited by his subject and writes about it in a lively way. This is perhaps the more

remarkable in that it deals with a long chronological period (from 1695 on) and refers to a wide range of literature. Indeed it constitutes a stimulating introduction to the debates on English population growth and industrialization since the beginning of the eighteenth century: it is even alive and eminently readable on such potentially tedious topics as data sources and methodology.

Its main weakness is that it is not disciplined by a strong framework of demographic theory, with the result that at times the argument becomes curiously imprecise and loosely founded. For example, in explaining what the author calls the "population revolution," he argues that "for much of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the populations of manufacturing regions seem to have assumed wrongly that the sudden upsurge in employment opportunities for themselves and their children (and the rise in money incomes which resulted from it) was a passport to higher real standards of life" (pp. 70-71). And in explaining the English "demographic transition" we find the statement: "Given the inability of the modern family to act as protectors of the elders, and given also the willingness of the state to guarantee basic minimum standards for old people yet another rationale for large families has gradually disappeared" (p. 118).

Perhaps in the end the most disappointing feature of this new text is its failure to make much use of recent research into the demographic behavior of today's preindustrializing or newly industrializing countries. For it is here that the newest insights into the complex relationships between population growth and economic growth are beginning to emerge.

PHYLLIS DEANE
Newnham College,
Cambridge

J. C. BEAGLEHOLE. *The Life of Captain James Cook*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1974. Pp. xi, 760. \$18.50.

"Definitive" is a word to use sparingly, but it applies to this life of Cook. Professor Beaglehole, a New Zealander, prepared himself for forty years for his assignment. In 1934 he published *Explorers of the Pacific Ocean*. Then from 1955 to 1969 he produced a massive piece of scholarship—a four-volume edition of Cook's journals kept during three great voyages of Pacific discovery—and in 1962 produced a two-volume edition of Joseph Banks's journal. He even sailed in Cook's tracks over the vast Pacific

and around many a tropical island. No book will ever approach his thoroughness in covering Cook's three voyages. It is a model of exhaustive archival research, and its almost eight hundred pages are peppered with apt quotations and bolstered with scholarly footnotes. Since he cannot bear to leave anything out, the book is a little long, but fortunately his fine literary style carries the narrative.

Cook is important for what he did *not* find. His first voyage (1768–71) discovered no great continent. Instead, he charted the coast of New Zealand, proving it to be two islands, and sailed west to discover and chart the east coast of Australia, where he was almost wrecked on the Great Barrier Reef. The second voyage (1772–75) crisscrossed the South Pacific and proved conclusively that there was no great *Terra Australis*. The third voyage (1776–80), in which Cook lost his life in Hawaii, crisscrossed the North Pacific and found no outlet of a northwest passage inside the Bering Strait. Vitaly concerned with his crew's health, Cook supervised their diet by insisting on fresh food whenever possible, and frequent portions of lime juice, sauerkraut, and onions, thus conquering the dreaded scurvy. He introduced new methods of hygiene, insisting on exercise and personal cleanliness. Clothes were washed often and quarters scrubbed out frequently and dried with stoves. The second voyage lasted three years and eighteen days, yet only one death resulted from sickness—a remarkable feat in view of the average eighteenth-century crew's decimation by diseases on a long voyage.

Cook possessed a skeptical mind. He was the great dispeller of illusion. The author's final chapter, the epilogue, is one of the most important sections of the book. Here he makes some important interpretations of Cook's life, character, and contributions. We find that Cook had no religion, no politics, and no desire to be a crusader. A distinction is made between Cook the navigator and Cook the surveyor. His greatness is assessed, and he is placed in the context of his times and also in the context of the history of maritime discovery. Professor Beaglehole concludes that Cook was England's greatest seaman, navigator, surveyor, and explorer.

The book abounds in fresh insights and fascinating information. Cook's humble origins are clearly delineated. His lack of formal education is pinpointed. He was largely self-educated in mathematics, astronomy, surveying, and chart making. While Cook's surveying of so many Pacific islands was brilliant, Beaglehole feels

nothing exceeded his first great assignment, the surveying of the southern and western sides of Newfoundland from 1763 to 1767. He had an extraordinary empathy with the Pacific island natives and constantly worried that his sailors would infect the innocent, though sexually permissive islanders, with venereal diseases. He disliked bloodshed and spent much time controlling his crew. He did not grasp the concept of communal ownership, which caused his death. However, the author conjectures that Cook was nervously exhausted just before his death, which explained his frequent temper tantrums, including his fatal one, when he ordered his men to fire on the natives, who retaliated by seizing and murdering Cook. His ability to get along with people of higher or lower station is stressed—he and the aristocratic Banks were close friends. Cook made the first exact recording of longitude in the Pacific by using first the lunar method of determination and later the chronometer. Finally, Professor Beaglehole's thorough documentation includes short biographies of admirals and all important members of his crews, even some below deck.

Professor Beaglehole died in 1971 while revising the completed manuscript; his son and friends selected the many fine illustrations, four maps, and the excellent bibliography. Stanford Press has produced a truly handsome volume.

SAMUEL CLYDE MCCULLOCH
University of California,
Irvine

JOHN ROSSELLI. *Lord William Bentinck: The Making of a Liberal Imperialist, 1774–1839*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1974. Pp. 384. \$15.00.

M. E. CHAMBERLAIN. *Britain and India: The Interaction of Two Peoples*. (Library of Politics and Society.) Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books. 1974. Pp. 272. \$13.00.

A conventional image of British imperialism, held by its apologists as well as its detractors, is of immense power being directed at will to achieve defined ends. According to its admirers, this power provided the framework of law and order, which, as in Philip Mason's splendid exercise in nostalgia, *The Guardians* (1954), worked for the well-being of the Indian masses. And Providence, Charles Trevelyan pointed out, had so happily adjusted the universe that when we help the natives, we help ourselves. For those who read the history of the nineteenth century differently, the imposing machinery of imperialism, rationalized by the convenient piety, was

used to enslave the masses in India, as elsewhere. A merit of these two books is that they examine the application of imperial power and its meaning for both governed and governors, suggesting that both parties erred in giving it, for good or ill, more credit than it deserved. Both books are a reminder that the familiar imperial symbols—Kipling's exaltation of blood and duty, Curzon's bombast, and Lutyen's Delhi—belong to the sunset of imperialism. The true vitality of Western imperialism was demonstrated in India in the first half of the nineteenth century; the rest was consolidation, shoring up a structure with built-in obsolescence.

Rosselli's book is essentially a study in the application of imperial power in that period, primarily in India, but with considerable attention given to Bentinck's Italian career. As such, it is a serious contribution to the literature of imperialism in general, as well as providing the first detailed examination of important events in modern Indian history. In a quite self-conscious adherence to the methodology pioneered by Jakob Burckhardt, Rosselli begins with an analytical summary of Bentinck's development as a representative of that "all-purpose governing class," the landed British aristocracy. He then moves on to a series of thematic essays on such historical problems as nationality, agrarian taxation, judicial reform, economic development, and administrative procedures, and relates them to Bentinck's career. The advantages of this method are not clear, as it makes for unnecessary separation of activities, but, on the whole, Rosselli succeeds in defining what he means by a "liberal imperialist."

The section on empire and nationality is especially interesting. Rosselli elucidates with considerable skill the contradictions inherent in policies that sought to implant what Bentinck called "civil liberty" in India and Sicily while simultaneously strengthening the bonds of empire.

Chamberlain's book is less original in both subject matter and approach. While it is well-written, much of it is a fairly routine summary of what used to be called the rise and expansion of British rule in India. What raises it above the level of most books of its kind is its awareness of the point noted above, that the ruler and the ruled assumed a too easy identification of the possession of power and its effective application, not realizing how little control they had over the forces shaping Indian society in the nineteenth century. The chapter on the economic impact of the West on India is a good example; it provides a useful summary of

the main arguments, even though the author's own conclusions are overjudicious and tentative.

AINSLIE T. EMBREE
Columbia University

P. H. J. H. GOSDEN. *Self-Help: Voluntary Associations in 19th-Century Britain*. New York: Barnes and Noble. 1974. Pp. viii, 295. \$16.50.

Around 1900 more than five million Englishmen belonged to friendly societies that paid both sick benefits and burial fees, and more than six million belonged to collecting societies that paid burial fees alone. Well over two million belonged to cooperative stores, nearly two million to "trustee" savings banks, and six hundred thousand to building societies. They had invested five million pounds in friendly societies, seven million into collecting societies, and nearly sixteen million into cooperatives, banks, and building societies. These investments were sterling examples of thrift, foresight, and self-help and formed part of those voluntary societies that the Victorians established to promote those virtues. They were societies that meant much to their members. How insignificant to an ill breadwinner or bereaved widow were Irish or House of Lords crises compared to a ten-shilling weekly sick benefit or a ten pound burial fee! The development of social institutions is often far more significant to ordinary people than the drama of high politics. For this reason Mr. Gosden's account of these societies has added considerably to our knowledge of the history of the common man in Victorian England.

Of these institutions the friendly societies were the most varied, ranging from small, ephemeral village societies to large, permanent, national organizations. Though the two main goals of these societies were sick benefits and burial fees, they also offered the monthly meeting at the inn and annual festivities. Gosden sees these convivialities as very important but does not enter into their rites and ceremonies as vividly as he did in his *The Friendly Societies* (1960) or as fully as M. D. Fuller in her *West Country Friendly Societies* (1964). In the friendly society, with its feasts, parades, bands, banners, and emblems, the working class found an identity and belonging quite absent in collecting societies, savings banks, and building societies, and only present in an educational way in the cooperatives.

Though these various voluntary societies met some of the needs of a century undergoing a population explosion and industrialization, they

did not meet most of them. They particularly failed on the problem of the aged, bad housing, and large-scale unemployment. These societies also led to many frauds, failures, and bankruptcies, so many in fact that Parliament passed twenty-six acts increasing the government's control of them. Evolved as part of a laissez-faire society and dedicated to self-help they paradoxically prospered most in a more collectivist and planned society. In 1945 the membership in friendly and building societies and in cooperatives and banks was respectively, nine, two, nine, and four million. Gosden has written a detailed, accurate, and thorough study of these societies. It is a narrowly institutional study and by no means covers the much wider subject of its title, "self-help" and "voluntaryism."

DAVID ROBERTS
Dartmouth College

WILBUR DEVEREUX JONES. *The American Problem in British Diplomacy, 1841-1861*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1974. Pp. xi, 260. \$13.50.

Many monographs have been written touching upon Anglo-American relations during some of the years from 1841 through 1861. Almost all of them have approached the topic from the point of view of the United States. It is therefore welcome to have this study by Wilbur D. Jones that presents the British side. One consequence of the emphasis on Britain is that the manuscript material consulted—and this includes a large number of collections—is entirely British. Jones emphasizes that the British put the United States well down on their scale of diplomatic priorities, and it is useful for students of American history to be reminded that the United States did not bulk large in European diplomatic calculations until long after her independence. Jones has written a detailed study of diplomacy, concentrating on the foreign office and the state department and saying little about economics, public opinion, ideology, or chance. He has included many long quotations, almost all of them unfamiliar, which will be valuable for future writers interested in making broad interpretations.

Although this book is valuable mainly for its factual material, it does have some interesting interpretations. Even if the United States was not the main problem for Britain's foreign policy makers, she became increasingly important as the twenty years here under consideration passed. Her military and economic strength grew to an extent that made her the chief maritime rival of Great Britain. Jones does not

believe that London had any grand plan for dealing with this awkward competitor, except, just possibly, a strategy of containment. He thinks that on the whole British policy was *ad hoc*, devised to meet each new situation as it arose. Yet a few patterns can be discerned. Although anxious to avoid war—the specter of which she raised for the last time in 1841 during the Alexander McLeod crisis—she threatened rather frequently to use naval action. Aberdeen threatened to use the navy in the Oregon crisis (Jones agrees with the writers who attribute the Oregon settlement in large part to Polk's fear lest Britain use force); Clarendon did the same in 1854, 1855, and again in 1856; and Malmesbury so acted in 1858. Jones apparently believes that each time the threat succeeded in causing the United States to back down. Another British tactic, used successfully time after time by both British parties, was to secure diplomatic help from France, America's traditional ally. Furthermore, Jones has a theory, unfortunately not fully developed, about the crucial point as to whether a meaningful rapprochement took place in the late 1850s. Mary W. Williams's contention, that in 1856 Britain, because of economic considerations, swung over to favor American expansion in Central America, he considers "probably exaggerated" (p. 154). His own belief is that Britain, at least since concluding the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, had wanted to disentangle herself from Central America, but that a menacing American attitude made it politically and diplomatically impossible for any British government to make a significant concession. But once the United States became more civil—partly in response to a British threat of naval action—London was free to make the desired retreat from the Bay Islands and the Mosquito Coast. Jones has done well to probe the Williams thesis, but his own argument, though undoubtedly meritorious, needs further examination.

CHARLES S. CAMPBELL
Claremont Graduate School

J. L. HEILBRON. *H. G. J. Moseley: The Life and Letters of an English Physicist, 1887-1915*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1974. Pp. xiii, 312. \$15.00.

H. G. J. Moseley enunciated Moseley's Law in 1914. This law, based on the X-ray spectra of the elements, provided a firm foundation for the classification of elements in a new Periodic Table that made the one first conceived by Dmitri Mendeleev in 1869 obsolete. Moseley's

work established the primacy of the atomic number (charge on the nucleus) over the atomic weight as the basis for elementary classification. This provided a solid experimental basis for later developments in the quantum theory of the atom and in quantum mechanics. There can be no doubt that Moseley had produced a brilliant piece of work. Unfortunately, he was unable to follow it up, for with the coming of the war in 1914, Moseley rushed to the British colors and was killed in Gallipoli in 1915.

J. L. Heilbron has undertaken to write the biography of this youthful and talented physicist and has produced a solid piece of scholarship that brings together all the extant letters of Moseley and weaves them into a compelling narrative of Moseley's life and times. Yet, when one has finished the volume, serious doubts remain as to the value of all this work. Part of the trouble lies with the fact that Moseley was killed so young. There just is not enough of a life to write a full-scale biography. Heilbron's narrative reflects this, running only to 139 pages, but the thinness is not entirely due to Moseley's brief career. Heilbron has chosen to focus so intensely upon his hero that he has neglected to provide a coherent or sufficient background to his work. We are given extended treatment of Eton and Oxford (easily available elsewhere), but little or nothing on the revolution in physics that was taking place while Moseley was at both places. Heilbron casually mentions that Moseley corrected Rutherford's use of Einstein's special theory of relativity, but nowhere does he tell us what the reaction was in England to Einstein's heterodox ideas. Where did Moseley hear of Einstein's work (he read German with difficulty)? Did he just accept the bizarre ideas that Einstein's early papers contained? Was he unaffected by the philosophical implications of relativity? Was he aware that there were such implications? None of these questions is even raised, much less answered. The same is true of Planck's introduction of the quantum of action into atomic physics. Moseley casually speaks the language of quantum physics without our ever finding out where he learned it, what he thought of it, or what he expected to do with it. It could be argued that these points were not necessary for Moseley's experimental work. If so, then this work, which took only about six months to do, does not warrant a biography.

Moseley's letters do not cast much light on his ideas, although they do illuminate his experiments. They are of little value in understanding the history of physics of the time.

There are careless mistakes scattered throughout. "Aluminum" is given for "aluminium," errors in grammar appear that would seem to be the fault of the editor, not the writer, and, most serious of all, a figure of what, presumably, Moseley thought an atom to be (and therefore of some potential use in discovering his ideas on atomic structure) simply is not in the space allotted to it (p. 227). The notes to the letters and the index are adequate.

L. PEARCE WILLIAMS
Cornell University

ALBERT D. MOSCOTTI. *British Policy and the Nationalist Movement in Burma, 1917-1937*. (Asian Studies at Hawaii, number 11. Asian Studies Program, University of Hawaii.) [Honolulu:] University Press of Hawaii. 1974. Pp. xv, 264. \$5.00.

In a brief foreword, Professor Josef Silverstein gives three reasons for his recommendation that this slightly expanded dissertation, written in 1950, now be published: he found Moscotti's work to be "dispassionate and objective"; it utilized material of the British colonial period that had received sparse attention from other scholars; and it illuminated British colonialism as a particular system with sufficient variants from other colonial systems as to merit study for its own sake.

I have no serious quarrel with Silverstein's endorsement of Moscotti's work, especially since we would agree that material on Burma has generally been in short supply. However, having read this dissertation shortly after it was completed at Yale, I would have hesitated now in using scarce publication funds for a work that has been superseded by more ample studies.

Moscotti's study is primarily directed to the series of important landmark decisions of various British colonial reform commissions and attendant parliamentary debates. When the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms of 1917 for "increasing the association of Indians in every branch of the [British] colonial administration" in India were applied to the British colonial government in India, they expressly excluded the application of the reforms to the province of Burma. Burmese protest succeeded by 1923 in having these reforms of modest home rule applied to Burma. Similar political agitation at the end of the decade and in the early 1930s led finally to the British Acts of 1935 that separated Burma from India and provided for each

colony a larger measure of home rule while still retaining ultimate power for London.

Moscotti ascribes this political effort in the time frame of his title to what he calls the "nationalist awakening"; but in so doing, he ignores its antecedents in the late 1880s and 1890s (immediately following the final annexation of Burma to British India) and the rise of a more radical nationalist effort—the Thakin Movement—of the early 1930s, which eventually achieved independence for Burma outside the British Commonwealth. In these respects Moscotti's work is both dated and derivative from those British and American writers on Burma who described the Burmese as "politically apathetic" before 1917 and overlooked or ignored the fires of Burmese patriotism and spirit of independence that had never—after annexation—disappeared in the countryside. Not for nothing did the British employ thirty thousand troops to bring about the pacification of Burma between 1886 and 1894.

FRANK N. TRAGER
New York University

CHRIS COOK and JOHN RAMSDEN, editors. *By-Elections in British Politics*. With an introduction by DAVID BUTLER. New York: St. Martin's Press. 1973. Pp. xii, 406. \$17.95.

The twelve essays that constitute this volume are designed to answer a wide variety of questions concerning by-elections in Britain since 1918. Statistical data are plumbed in an effort not only to determine long- and short-term political trends, but also to reach some generalizations concerning voting behavior in such contests. By-elections of special significance are dealt with separately in essays that combine sophisticated analysis of the results with an investigation of their subsequent impact on the political scene.

While each of the studies is of value, those dealing with the period preceding 1945 are of special interest. In the absence of public opinion polls, by-elections provide for the historian, as they did for contemporary politicians, a rough measure of swings in public sentiment between general elections. In a few instances the electoral results call into question the impressions gained from other sources. Iain McLean's analysis of the by-elections of 1938–39, for example, does not sustain the generally accepted view that the decisive shift in the public's attitude toward appeasement occurred in the wake of Hitler's occupation of Prague in March 1939.

On the whole, however, this collection holds few surprises for the student of twentieth-century Britain. Some of the "myths" that the authors delight in destroying, such as the view that the Labour party was making steady electoral progress between 1900 and 1914 or that the Newport by-election caused the fall of the coalition in 1922, have long been recognized as such by scholars. The more general findings of these studies likewise tend to bear out the speculations of less scientific observers: in by-elections party loyalties count for less than in general elections, the "swing" tends to be against the party in office, and the larger the government's majority the more probable it is that its vote will be reduced. These essays provide not only the hard evidence to support this conventional wisdom, but also some important qualifications and refinements.

The high quality of these studies and the extremely valuable statistical appendix make this volume an essential tool for students concerned either with the interpretation of specific by-elections or with more general questions of electoral behavior in Britain since World War I.

CATHERINE ANN CLINE
Catholic University of America

DONALD GRAEME BOADLE. *Winston Churchill and the German Question in British Foreign Policy, 1918–1922*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1973. Pp. xvii, 193. 36 gls.

This is indeed the golden age of the dissertation writers in the field of recent European diplomacy. The principal governments are publishing voluminous series of foreign office records and have at long last opened their archives to students of the aftermath of the First World War. Thus far relatively little that is new or important has emerged from all this editorial activity. Personal memoirs and the apologies of participants have long since made the policies of the leading statesmen and therefore of their countries known. What we are now getting are mostly details, sometimes illuminating but more often tedious and generally insignificant. Every episode can now be followed in all its alterations and often its futility.

The present work is the doctoral dissertation of a young Australian scholar. He has clearly been well trained, for he handles his materials deftly and rarely challenges accepted interpretations. Why he has chosen this particular subject is not clear, for he recognizes that Churchill,

who in this period was successively secretary of war and colonial secretary, was for the most part a mere spectator at the negotiation of the peace treaties. The decisions were made by the Big Three with support of their staffs. All Churchill could do was to write memorandums and urge suggestions that were usually unwanted and rarely adopted. It is interesting to note that, like Lloyd George and especially Woodrow Wilson, Churchill had grave reservations to the imposition of an unnegotiated treaty on a strong and formidable opponent, and that he regarded the prolonged hunger blockade of Germany as an unpardonable policy. But like his colleagues, he was carried away by the vengeful pressure of public opinion, whipped up by years of propaganda.

The title of Boadle's book is really a misnomer. Churchill knew relatively little about Germany and had an exaggerated fear lest the reactionary military caste overthrow the Republic. But his chief concern was with Soviet Russia, of which he knew far less even than about Germany. The author speaks of Churchill's wild and increasingly hysterical alarmism that centered on his dread of an alliance between a reactionary Germany and Bolshevik Russia, united in their determination on a renewed assault on the Allied powers. While convinced that the destruction of bolshevism could be achieved only by combined military action, he was nonetheless prepared to support any related policy such as the creation of a strong Polish state or even a relaxation of the German peace terms so as to enable the Germans to play a more effective anti-Soviet role.

The Churchill program was interesting if only because Churchill was an imaginative statesman and at the same time an activist. But in all its essentials it has long been known, if only through Churchill's own writings. In a sense a detailed monograph such as Boadle's tends to obscure the larger issues by burying them under mountains of unimportant detail. If Churchill had not later emerged in a greater and more heroic role, I doubt if going over this ground so minutely would have been worth the required time and effort.

WILLIAM L. LANGER
Harvard University

H. DUNCAN HALL. *Commonwealth: A History of the British Commonwealth of Nations*. With an introduction by SIR ROBERT MENZIES. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Company. 1971. Pp. xxxvi, 1015. \$29.95.

This massive volume qualifies for the abused encomium *magnum opus* more than most, for it represents the distillate of Professor H. Duncan Hall's studies, thoughts, and experiences over several decades. The book is both an examination of a particular period in the development of the British Commonwealth of Nations and a product—indeed, almost a symbol—of that period. Its emphasis is on the old "white Dominions," the issues of responsible government, devolution of authority, and transfer of a Westminster model of Parliament to the colonial dependencies and Dominions. Sir Robert Borden appears often, Lord Lugard never, and the bibliography is heavy with works on or by constitutional authorities, but it does not mention D. A. Low or Eric Stokes and while having room for the Robinson and Gallagher of 1961, has no room for their work since or for the problem of the "collaborator model." In short, this is a detailed, often quite fine, examination of the machinery of Commonwealth government. He who looks for insights into the issues of the post-World War II years, or usage of those techniques that draw away from the center to the periphery, will be disappointed here.

But Hall is quite clear on what he wishes to achieve, and he asserts at the outset that his book "looks at the Commonwealth from the centre rather than the periphery." Despite the heavy turn away from this view, it is important to scholarship that there still be historians who examine the Commonwealth as Hall does, and given his approach and the limits he has defined to his study, he has done it very well indeed. Having access to previously unexploited materials on the Imperial Defense Conference of 1909, or to Australian materials on the Chanak crisis of 1922, or to the background to the Balfour Declaration of 1926, Hall throws much useful corrective light upon those events. Having himself been a participant in some of the conferences he describes and being a personal friend of heads of state and cabinet ministers, he also has his own insights into the figures of whom he writes. He does not often share these insights with us, but when he does they are subtle and acute. The book that results is unembarrassed in being old-fashioned, uncluttered by model building, unenlivened by speculation on personality, yet of considerable significance in its details. Sir Robert Menzies, in an attractively written introduction, calls it "a remarkable book, written by a very remarkable man," and in this he is quite right.

ROBIN W. WINKS
Yale University

W. STANFORD REID. *Trumpeter of God: A Biography of John Knox*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1974. Pp. xvi, 353. \$12.50.

The author modestly says that he is not writing a biography of John Knox but rather a biographical interpretation with the object of discovering the secret of Knox's dynamism. But a biography of a sort it certainly is. All that Knox said and did is recounted in detail, together with many surmises as to his reasons. These are not random guesses but explanations plausible in the light of the circumstances with which the author is intimately acquainted. He knows what was going on at each stage not only in Scotland, England, and France but in smaller spots such as Dieppe, Strasbourg, Frankfurt, and Geneva. He understands the local situation in Scotland where Knox had his support from the middle class, that is, the lairds and the burghesses. If one wishes information, here it is, and so much that one should have a little in advance to grasp it all.

The author is not so much interested in information as in explanation. What was the secret of Knox's dynamism? Is the reference to his titanic energy or to his ability to evoke it in others? He had both. Reid's explanation is very simple. He was "God's trumpeter." Does this mean that he was or that he thought he was? If one believes that God works in history through individuals, one might take Knox at his word. But by what tests does a man convince himself and persuade others that he is God's trumpeter? So many claiming to be emissaries of the Most High have plunged into the wildest fiascos and perpetrated ghastly holocausts. If one excludes the supernatural, what criteria determine whether an alleged prophet is demented or sound? I am not saying that there are no criteria, but the answer cannot be simple and the source of dynamism may have to be left in the realm of the inscrutables.

In any case, Knox's conviction that he was God's trumpeter explains his behavior toward others, notably Mary Stuart. Many moderns regard Knox as a crabby old man driving a pretty girl to tears. Knox on occasion was tender, but Mary in his eyes was God's enemy. She wanted the celebration of the Mass in her private chapel. The Mass to him was idolatry. God commanded that idolators be slain. Nevertheless Knox might have been willing to leave her to God if she had been trustworthy. He suspected on the basis of some evidence, of which we have a great deal more, that she was conspiring to suppress Protestantism in Scot-

land. Knox could not trust Catholics; see how well Mary Tudor kept her promise to respect conscience! If Mary Stuart had her Mass, Scotland, he assured, would have her Smithfield. Europe in the 1550s and 1560s was at the very peak of religious polarization. Knox thought of himself not only as the trumpeter of God but as the mouthpiece of Scotland in resistance to Catholic tyranny.

There is one point at which there might be greater clarity. Knox said that "unfaithful rulers could be removed by the people if they had the power." The author comments (p. 234) that Knox "set forth a theory of sovereignty which was not that of the continental reformers." This statement requires specification of which Continental reformers and at what time. The Magdeburg Bekenntnis, issued by the Lutherans in 1550, a document to which Knox made appeal, maintained that higher magistrates might be resisted and removed by lower magistrates, acting on behalf of the people but not through them. But in 1554 Theodore Beza, later Calvin's successor, was suggesting popular rebellion. Although Knox was of no mind to turn rebellion over to the "rascal multitude," he said that a ruler might be removed by a "Christian Commonwealth." He did not say just how.

ROLAND H. BAINTON
Yale University

A. ALLAN MACLAREN. *Religion and Social Class: The Disruption Years in Aberdeen*. (The Scottish Series.) Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1974. Pp. xii, 268. \$15.50.

This work illustrates some facets of the relationship between history and the social sciences. The author, a sociologist analyzing the past, writes of "cross-fertilization," and it is clear that he believes the application of sociological techniques and perspectives reveals essential truths otherwise undiscovered. This particular volume is intended to elucidate patterns of religious belief and observance in Aberdeen during the period centered on 1843, when the Church of Scotland was disrupted by the creation of the Free Church, and 1851, when an extensive religious census was taken. The first part of the book concerns the Disruption itself, its background and consequences. The overt issue was the rejection of patronage in the selection of ministers. This is hardly discussed at all. Dr. MacLaren finds that the true disruptive factor was the emergence of a new urban-based bourgeoisie "characterized by aggressive individualism, economic opportunism, rapid social and

physical mobility, and yet relatively insecure within the social structure because of their shallow roots in bourgeois society." Such men supported the Free Church, shaped it, and ensured its financial success. This conclusion is demonstrated by analyses of the origins, occupations, and residences of the elders of all established and seceding congregations. Even if one accepts that such men formed the core of the lay leadership in the Free Church, can one then be satisfied that its existence has been explained? That other factors must have been present is suggested by the case of St. Clement's parish, where a substantial secession occurred without such social tensions. What influence did ideology have? What roles were played by the clergy? By those in each congregation who were not elders? Such questions remain unexplored.

The book concludes with a description of the religious situation of the working class. MacLaren finds that there was a general working-class belief in a Protestant religious connection, but in practice the Presbyterian churches were too middle class in finances and values to attract substantial working-class membership. Thus the institutional church lost the opportunity to incorporate the new industrial proletariat.

This book exemplifies the product of a social science approach. It is replete with statistics and is based on extensive research, but it relies on quantification, typification, and categorization. The immeasurable is discounted. It is not history, for it does not constitute a coherent and satisfying explanation of the religious situation in mid-nineteenth-century Aberdeen, but no historian interested in the subject of modern Scottish life can afford to ignore its findings.

J. WILSON FERGUSON
Russell Sage College

M. PERCEVAL-MAXWELL. *The Scottish Migration to Ulster in the Reign of James I.* (Ulster-Scot Historical Series: Publications of the Ulster-Scot Historical Foundation, Belfast.) New York: Humanities Press. 1973. Pp. xx, 411. \$17.50.

Upon the death of Queen Elizabeth, the governor of Derry urged that Scots be settled in Ulster to prevent rebellion. King James agreed with this opinion. According to Perceval-Maxwell, James was the prime mover behind colonization. Upon becoming king of England and Ireland he gave substantial grants to three Scots—Randal MacDonnell, Hugh Montgomery, and James Hamilton—in Antrim and Down. The latter two were enjoined to settle English or Scottish tenants, the first time Scots were put on

an equal footing with Englishmen in Ireland. Indeed, before James their immigration had been illegal. After the "flight of the earls" in 1607, James and his Irish, Scottish, and English advisers devised a project whereby the escheated land in the rest of Ulster would be settled by Scottish undertakers. Most of the nine chief undertakers were courtiers; the others consisted largely of gentry or royal servants, with only a few merchants. The author has studied their social, economic, and religious backgrounds as well as the general conditions prevailing in Lowland Scotland. Though poorer than England, Scotland by now had some capital for investment and men interested in overseas colonization.

The period 1610–19 witnessed the founding of Scottish colonies in all the escheated counties, as well as continued growth of those in Antrim and Down, but stagnation set in during the closing years of James's reign. Reasons for the qualified success of the undertakers were manifold: poor land or location, insufficient capital, hostility of the native Irish, disputes over conflicting grants, and Scottish tariffs on Irish grain. According to the undertakers, their chief difficulty arose from insecurity of tenure. Because they often failed to meet the colonization requirements stipulated in their patents, they feared forfeiture, and with good reason. Dublin Castle and the king worried about the small number of British colonists and the persistence of numerous Irish tenants. The government ordered six surveys to assess the undertakers' achievements and threatened forfeiture but in the end never enforced its regulations; meanwhile new settlements were discouraged. Yet despite all the difficulties, some 14,000 to 15,000 Scots were settled before James's death, enough to constitute a solid base for the larger immigration that came after 1635 and for the creation of the modern Ulster-Scot community.

The study is well organized, carefully documented, and clearly written. It contains a series of informative charts and illustrative maps as well as appendixes giving biographical information about the undertakers, ministers, and others involved. The author employs the available statistics with caution. Occasionally he generalizes from slender evidence but for the most part confines himself to the topic at hand. Thus, although he provides a valuable companion volume to T. W. Moody's book on the Londonderry Plantation, Perceval-Maxwell does not attempt any analytical comparison of the Scottish migration to Ulster with other major colonizing movements, except for a few comments on the

English settlements there and elsewhere in Ireland.

FRANCIS G. JAMES
Tulane University

RAYMOND MOLEY. *Daniel O'Connell: Nationalism without Violence. An Essay*. New York: Fordham University Press. 1974. Pp. xxi, 246. Cloth \$12.50, paper \$5.00.

This biographical essay, concerned, as Professor Moley tells us in his preface, with some of Daniel O'Connell's activities, principles of action, and political methods, has an unusual origin. Moley's grandmother, Mary Anne Kane, was born in Dublin where her father Joseph was a civil engineer and a graduate of Trinity College. He engaged Hypolite Molé, an emigré from France, to teach his daughter the French language. The couple were married and eventually came to America, settling in Ohio with their children. From his grandmother, Mary Anne Kane Molé, the young Raymond Moley learned some Irish history and especially heard her stories of Daniel O'Connell, who used to come to Hypolite's tailor shop in Dublin. The grandmother's memories were full of England's "cruel wrongs," and Moley admits that he has had to unlearn some of this history; but the curiosity awakened by his grandmother about O'Connell and the Ireland of his time never died, and now in his eighties Moley has given us the result of a lifetime of reflection and reading on O'Connell's career.

The book has another interesting aspect. Moley was not merely a professor in the School of Public Law at Columbia University but an adviser to President Roosevelt in the early days of the New Deal, and later the editor of *Newsweek*. His many asides on politicians, public life, and the limits and possibilities of political action give the book an unusual flavor. Moley never loses sight of the milieu in which O'Connell had to calculate his chances of success or failure.

Moley disclaims any intention of calling this study a full biography, which it is not. But the chapters on O'Connell's boyhood, his attitudes to religious liberty, his legal career, and his organization of the Catholic association will have a strong interest not only for special students of Irish history but for the general reader as well. It is, however, with O'Connell's beliefs in nonviolence, in the power and force of peaceful political action, that Moley is especially concerned, and he comes down firmly on O'Connell's side in his famous quarrel with Young

Ireland. The essential greatness of O'Connell, he argues, has suffered from attacks on him by the Young Irelanders in their post-1848 writings and also from the direction of Irish history itself, especially from the events of 1916-21. But now, Moley observes, the tragic and seemingly unending violence in Northern Ireland gives fresh pertinence to the teaching of O'Connell and to the political and social thinking on which it was based. Moley manages, despite his attention to O'Connell's ideas and political methods, to convey a good deal about the man himself. But the "whole O'Connell" is an elusive subject, as it has been for all other biographers. There will undoubtedly be new questions, new perspectives, new biographies, but any future student of O'Connell's career will value this present book. And for ongoing O'Connell studies there is now the additional source of O'Connell's correspondence, appearing under the editorship of Professor Maurice O'Connell of Fordham University (there will be eight volumes, of which three have been published). Finally, it should be noted that Irish history has been much changed over the past thirty-five years by many solid monographs and learned studies that have revised old interpretations and asked new questions. The field, however, still stands in need of books that reflect, discuss, synthesize—"considerations," as the French would put it. Moley has given us just such a book.

HELEN MULVEY
Connecticut College

DAVID W. MILLER. *Church, State and Nation in Ireland, 1898-1921*. [Pittsburgh:] University of Pittsburgh Press. 1973. Pp. x, 579. \$14.95.

Before 1921 the Catholic Church in Ireland had to adapt to the fluctuating fortunes of moderate and extreme nationalist movements while simultaneously preserving close—but not too close—working relations with the British government. Despite these difficulties, it retained the loyalty of its members to a degree probably unmatched by any other European church. Professor Miller finds much evidence to support his emphasis on the "subordination of theological discussion to political considerations in the minds and actions of the Irish hierarchy" (p. 462). He does not, however, examine to what extent the Church was a primarily political institution. Was clerical promotion, for instance, based on ability to handle political problems? That the four bishops who feature most prominently in the narrative—Logue, Walsh, O'Donnell, and

O'Dwyer—received their hats before 1898 may have diverted Miller's attention from this problem. The issue is relevant because any churchman suspected of being a politician first and a spiritual leader second might have forfeited his political influence. Tim Healy's complaint that his supporter, Logue, was "so scrupulous" that "you can't expect he will do anything with a merely political motive" (p. 264) reminds the reader that whereas politics was virtually the sole concern of state and nation, the Church's political influence depended on the credibility among her own flock of her claim to be essentially nonpolitical.

Despite the slight distortion caused by this perhaps unavoidable concentration on the Church as a primarily political animal, the general thrust of Miller's interpretation carries complete conviction. Occasional emphases may, of course, be queried. He seems to attach excessive importance to the concept of political generations, and his own logical rigor tempts him to exaggerate the extent to which Sinn Féin politicians appreciated the logical implications of their attitude toward Protestant Ulster. If the work is mainly a study, and a masterly one, in diplomatic history, it contains a great deal to interest social, intellectual, and political historians as well. Miller touches nothing that he does not illuminate, from the electoral influence of the clergy to the attitude of churchmen toward emigration. His control of his voluminous material, his clarity of style, acuity of perception, and maturity of judgment make this a work of rare distinction.

J. J. LEE
University College,
Cork

ALAIN CROIX. *Nantes et le Pays nantais au XVI^e siècle: Étude démographique*. (École Pratique des Hautes Études—VI^e Section. Centre de Recherches Historiques. Démographie et sociétés, 15.) Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1974. Pp. 356. 60 fr.

For those who want a primer of the demographic methodology of the *Annales* school this book has great value. For those familiar with the works of the members of that school Croix provides both a few nuances of interpretation for long-term developments from the viewpoint of the sixteenth century and much information about the area around Nantes. Surely this book must be listed in the category of "everything you wanted to know." Croix, with many references to his masters, very carefully describes the

methods, and their limitations, that he used to study the registers of births of forty-four parishes in and around Nantes during the period 1464 to 1600 and the registers of marriages and deaths from the mid-sixteenth century to 1600.

Perhaps the great weakness of the book is one that is common to most of its type. The author worked hard and long and leads the reader through much in order to provide, in the end, conclusions that are usually confirmations of what was already known or suspected. But that statement by itself is too harsh and comes from writing too soon after reading the book. For when all is said and done, when the eyes have ceased to be blurred, something does emerge from amidst the graphs and tables, something beyond the author's concern to show the correlation of the evolution of births, marriages, and deaths in the sixteenth century. The work presents further proof that ordinances of the sixteenth-century royal government had little effect, while bishops often successfully imposed their will; that crises of living conditions were inevitable in the Old Regime, and that town and country felt these crises differently. There is an indication that by the last half of the sixteenth century, peasants, who had been mobile in the fifteenth century, were moving very little. Croix has found indications of population increase from about 1480; that the period of the Wars of Religion marked a decline in population; and that a sharp drop in the number of births can help identify a crisis when other evidence is scarce. As the author realizes, however, he must carry his research beyond Nantes to provide a broader base for his conclusions.

J. MICHAEL HAYDEN
University of Saskatchewan

J. RUSSELL MAJOR. *Bellièvre, Sully, and the Assembly of Notables of 1596*. (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, volume 64, part 2.) Philadelphia: the Society. 1974. Pp. 34. \$2.00.

In 1941, Roland Mousnier's pioneering article on Sully and Bellièvre demonstrated that we could probe beneath stereotypes to the actual mechanics, personnel, and policies of the late sixteenth-century French monarchy. Today, despite excellent studies by Major, Raymond Kierstead, David Buisseret, Edmund Dickerman, Hélène Michaud, Martin Wolfe, and Nicola Sutherland, the limitations of this probing, at least with the aid of ministerial correspondence, official financial records, and labels such as

"Renaissance monarchy," are becoming apparent. Professor Major's present "mini-monograph" accepts Mousnier's basic thesis of a ministerial conflict between Bellièvre's "tempered monarchy" ideal and Sully's "absolute monarchy" aspirations, applying it to the fiscal reformism that led to Henry IV's Assembly of Notables, and conciliar decrees culminating in the *paulette*. As a result, Bellièvre's ideas and role as financial counselor are clearer, but the intrusion of the labels "Renaissance monarchy" and "absolute monarchy" has restricted Major's contribution. Bellièvre's reform proposals look neither so bold and statesmanlike as the author contends—even in contrast to Sully's pragmatic fiscal brigandage—nor so closely identified with a law-abiding, privilege-respecting "Renaissance monarchy" that supposedly had existed. As for Major's Sully, he also appears somewhat distorted, losing even the pragmatic scruples that Mousnier's revisionism left him, although—and perhaps because—he is now linked in predestinarian fashion to an emerging absolute monarchy that respected neither law nor subjects' privileges: "There were others who argued that the monarchy should embark on a new course leading to royal absolutism" (p. 3); "Those who advised him to move towards an absolutism" (p. 7). Major has been more fortunate in his choice and utilization of sources than in applying labels. Yet for all his skillful and sure handling of official documents such as Bellièvre's memorandums and conciliar decrees, the consequent "may have's," "possibly's," "perhaps's," and "probably's," may well lead future scholars to concentrate on ministerial correspondence as a surer guide, and to broaden and deepen the context of political-administrative history.

A. LLOYD MOOTE

University of Southern California

BRUNO NEVEU, editor. *Correspondance du nonce en France Angelo Ranuzzi (1683-1689)*. Volume 1, 1683-1686; volume 2, 1687-1689. (Acta Nuntiaturae Gallicae, 10 and 11.) Rome: École Française de Rome; Université Pontificale Grégorienne. 1973. Pp. xli, 849; 804.

This is a most valuable continuation of the publication of the collection of the Acta Nuntiaturae Gallicae of which nine volumes have appeared so far. For the historian interested in the political-religious issues of the reign of Louis XIV these papal and diplomatic documents drawn from a number of archival collections are of enormous value. They contain not only the official dispatches and letters of

the cardinal Angelo Maria Ranuzzi, papal nuncio in France from 1683 to 1689, but also correspondence of Gian Baptiste Lauri, the papal auditor in France, of the cardinal Alderano Cibo, secretary of state to Innocent XI, and of Innocent's *confidente* the cardinal Lorenzo Casoni. In addition, the editor of this monumental project has included extracts of the letters of Ranuzzi's counterpart, the French ambassador in Rome and the Venetian ambassadors in France and Rome.

Recalling that the main Church-state issues focused on the *regale*, assemblies of the clergy, the Gallican articles, the *quartier*, the disputed imperial election, and the Edict of Nantes, to name but a few, representing the Holy See in France during this crucial period was certainly a delicate and thankless task. During the pontificate of Innocent XI both nuncios, Pompeo Varese and Angelo Ranuzzi, were regarded in France as the representatives of a secular prince rather than an ecclesiastical power, and their activities accordingly were constrained as much as possible to diplomatic functions. Besides being confined in his official capacity to deal only with the secretary of state for foreign affairs and being limited in his contacts with the French clergy, Ranuzzi was isolated from the principal cultural and ecclesiastical circles of Paris. Philippe de France, duc d'Orléan, Colbert de Croissy, Madame de Maintenon, and Pere de La Chaise thus figure significantly in his letters while the Bishop Bossuet, Le Tellier, and Colbert are hardly mentioned. Yet the correspondence seems to confirm the suspicions of the late nineteenth-century historians that Louis's confessor played a significant role in ecclesiastical affairs in France. While the image of Louis is blurred in the nuncio's dispatches, the picture of Innocent XI and members of the curia are for the first time precisely drawn. Studies of religious policy in the reign of Louis XIV have tended to focus on the issues from the French perspective. Undoubtedly the publication of these diplomatic documents will now stimulate further research into the issue of Church and state in seventeenth-century France from the wider perspective these volumes suggest.

Unfortunately the editors of this series have compelled the editors of the volumes to summarize many of the documents. Nevertheless the specific references to the location of the documents, published and unpublished, the precise scholarly apparatus, and a thorough index of topics, names, and places make this edition a valuable reference and research tool. In ad-

dition Neveu, from his intimate knowledge of the period and the documents, has written a long introductory essay full of analysis of the issues and portraits of the personalities.

CHARMARIE JENKINS BLAISDELL
Northeastern University

JEAN-MARIE PÉROUSE DE MONTCLOS. *Etienne-Louis Boullée (1728-1799): Theoretician of Revolutionary Architecture*. New York: George Braziller, 1974. Pp. 128. Cloth \$6.95, paper \$2.95.

This is a very condensed and simplified translation of the author's *Etienne-Louis Boullée (1728-1799) de l'architecture classique à l'architecture révolutionnaire* (1969). Not only have the plates been reduced from 155 to 120 in number as well as in size and clarity but the text including notes, appendixes, and bibliography now numbers 56 pages instead of 257. Even the bibliography has been drastically cut so that such important items as Emil Kaufmann's pioneering study *Von Ledoux bis Le Corbusier* (1933) and Helen Rosenau's 1953 English edition of Boullée's treatise are omitted. The text is so abridged that it reads like a dissertation abstract. On the positive side, this English version does include two drawings that have turned up since 1969 and, to make it more topical, it includes a reference to the Nazi architectural designs of Albert Speer. The greatest value of this English version is, however, the very useful chronology of Boullée's life, which does not appear in the original. As it includes a very good glossary of architectural terms, this edition is presumably aimed at the American non-French reading public who are also ignorant of architectural terminology.

This English version does make available a considerable amount of material, both illustrated and textual, at a modest price so it may be useful to the general American reader. Scholars, however, will have to continue to refer to the more complete French original.

THOMAS J. MCCORMICK
Wheaton College
Norton, Massachusetts

JEAN-PIERRE GOUBERT. *Malades et médecins en Bretagne, 1770-1790*. (Université de Haute-Bretagne, Institut Armoricaire de Recherches Historiques, Rennes.) Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1974. Pp. 508.

Having already published two studies on the demography of eighteenth-century Brittany, the

author proposes to broaden his consideration of the subject to describe the people and the conditions represented by the statistics. The records, correspondence, and reports of royal administrators, doctors, surgeons, midwives, clergy, and military personnel supply the grim details of housing, sanitation, food supplies, the attitudes of the "pauvres malades," and the symptoms and treatments of the more widespread diseases. A thoroughly documented account of dedicated people inadequately equipped for a nearly hopeless task provides the human dimension, as charlatans peddle nostrums to peasants who, fearful of the cost or understandably skeptical, often refuse the treatments prescribed by physicians who sometimes grumble about long hours, inadequate fees, and drunken patients. Nevertheless it is as a study in quantification that this work has its impact. Scarcely any reader could ask for a more thorough coverage of sources or for an author more careful to point out what the statistics can and, most emphatically, cannot show. The often accepted "Malthusian" cycle of crop failure, famine, epidemic, population decline, increased food supply, and population growth leading to renewed famine is an inaccurate description of eighteenth-century Brittany. Jean-Pierre Goubert demonstrates clearly that in Brittany the crises in food supply did not necessarily coincide with epidemics; in 1740-42 such a coincidence did occur with catastrophic results that have never been repeated in Brittany, although there were five smallpox epidemics between 1770 and 1790 and other cases reported every year during that period. The author further argues that a society generates its own death rate depending largely on local conditions. Thus Brittany's population grew at a slower rate than the population of France as a whole. Brittany was, however, significantly affected by such outside conditions as its maritime role in the American wars, when transient soldiers and sailors carried diseases that often spread in the province. Twenty-five wonderfully clear maps, thirty informative graphs, seventeen statistical tables, two special indexes, and an extensive bibliography are provided. A superb volume for the specialist, this is a splendid example of high standards in the use of quantification in historiography.

ROBERT W. GREEN
Pennsylvania State University

M. J. SYDENHAM. *The First French Republic, 1792-1804*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1973. Pp. xi, 360. \$13.00.

It is fitting that Professor Sydenham, who has done so much to revise the traditional stereotyped image of the Girondists, should turn his critical attention to an interpretation of the French Revolution on a wider scale. Sydenham correctly observes that republican historians since Albert Mathiez have reflected in their judgments and in their chronological divisions the belief that the Revolution effectively ended with the fall of Robespierre in 1794. Relying heavily on the research of the republican scholar Georges Lefebvre and on the memoirs of Antoine-Claire Thibaudeau, he proposes interpretive alternatives based on the thesis that *the quest for a "rule of law" was the central theme of the First French Republic*, which he dates from the abolition of the constitutional monarchy in 1792 to the establishment of the empire in 1804. Sydenham's work is less a new interpretation than an artfully constructed synthesis of two old ones: that which views the National Convention as a battleground between "totalitarian" egalitarians and moderate libertarians and that which holds that Napoleon destroyed the Revolution after toppling the Directory in the successful coup d'état of 1799. Some of the conclusions derived from that approach—especially those on the Directory—are well founded and convincing, and some are judiciously provocative.

Despite the substantial merits of this well-written book, Sydenham's interpretive overview is unlikely to win many converts among historians steeped in the illustrious egalitarian tradition of Mathiez, Lefebvre, and Albert Soboul. Furthermore, his work suffers from several serious flaws in the selection and evaluation of historical evidence. Subordination of social factors, notably anything smacking of "class" interests, to practical and idealistic political considerations is conducive to one-sidedness if not outright distortion. The admirable fairness characteristic of chapters on the Directory and Napoleon's early years as first consul does not extend to the treatment of Robespierre and his supporters. Regardless of their claims to be constitutionalists forced by circumstances to take extreme measures in defense of the Republic, they appear as nothing more than the implacable and undefendable foes of the rule of law. Finally, the failure to deal with decisive developments in the first two revolutionary assemblies obscures an important aspect of the unsuccessful attempt after 1792 to establish a moderate constitutional regime on the Anglo-Saxon model. Viewed in the light of those earlier events, Sydenham's narrative—in the

context of his own thesis—reads like the story of belated efforts to revive a patient already dying of fatal, self-inflicted wounds.

J. ROBERT VIGNERY
University of Arizona

DANIEL L. RADER. *The Journalists and the July Revolution in France: The Role of the Political Press in the Overthrow of the Bourbon Restoration, 1827-1830*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1973. Pp. ix, 283. 45 gls.

Rader struggles to discover the relationship between the political press of the French Restoration and the revolution of 1830. In so doing he straddles two difficult fields of research; the history of the press and that of politics. The author comes down strongest on the journalistic side and recognizes the possibility that emphasizing this factor could lead to the distortion of placing the press in the major role in ordering revolutionary events. Rader restrains himself, and from this comes a clear, concise, and fair presentation of political and journalistic France from 1827 to 1830.

How influential can the press be in the removal of political leadership? The Nixon resignation might be cited among the most recent examples of this nagging historical problem. Do journalists lead or merely reflect political currents? Unquestionably the French Restoration was a period in which the press was healthy and opinionated; such examples as the *Constitutionnel*, *Le Courrier Français*, *Journal des Débats*, and in 1830 *Le National* come to mind. Typically French intellectual and political leaders turned to the newspaper as an outlet for their ideas. Consequently the publishers, editors, and writers were continually in trouble with the establishment of Charles X. Such journalist-scholar-politicians as Thiers, Chateaubriand, and Guizot used the press to enhance their careers as well as to reflect their ideas. A vigorous legitimist press likewise entered the fray. Rader would be among the first to deny that the press was solely responsible for 1830, but it is in the press that one discovers the conceptual conflicts of the times. There is ample evidence that the opposition press did truly frighten Polignac and the court, pushing them into restrictive judicial actions and finally into issuing the decrees of July 26 that triggered the revolution. The nervousness of the legitimist party gave significance to the opposition press in the final Bourbon debacle.

Rader provides an understandable narrative

of a complex subject. He almost falls into the trap toward the end of retelling the revolution story, which Pinkney has recently done more thoroughly. His principal resources are the newspapers themselves and the standard secondary works and memoirs. This is a sober, thoughtful, and rewarding analysis of a complicated period of modern French history.

JOHN J. BAUGHMAN
DePaul University

JOAN WALLACH SCOTT. *The Glassworkers of Carmaux: French Craftsmen and Political Action in a Nineteenth-Century City*. (Harvard Studies in Urban History.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974. Pp. xiv, 239. \$10.00.

In the continuing debate on the origins of working-class politics in Europe, those viewing the phenomenon from below, as an outgrowth of social change, seem to be winning out over those viewing it from above, as the result of the spread of socialist ideology. That, at least, is the message of this thoughtful study of French glassworkers in which Professor Joan Scott seeks to explain the rapid rise and decline of the labor movement in Carmaux—centered on the famous glassworkers' strike of 1895—by reference to changes in the "structure of work" at the Verrerie Sainte Clothilde in the 1880s and 1890s.

Deftly manipulating an array of statistical evidence on recruitment, residency, and mobility, Scott shows how, as technological innovation transformed the Carmaux bottle industry after 1884, the glassworkers who had previously constituted a highly skilled, highly paid elite controlling both production and labor recruitment within the factory were reduced to—or were replaced by—a class of lower-paid, semi-skilled laborers controlling neither production nor employment. The analysis of this occupational and social change provides, in turn, the necessary basis for understanding the labor activism of the 1890s. For Scott contends that it was the "occupational crisis" of the glassworkers, not socialist ideas or leadership, that produced their militancy. This militancy, moreover, was fundamentally conservative; it represented "the last stand of artisans in the face of mechanization" (p. 191) wherein the workers sought to regain, through organized political action, the control over their livelihood previously assured to them simply by the possession of skill.

This is an important thesis and Scott argues it persuasively. Less persuasive, however, is the

contention, running through the book, that the urban locale provides the best framework for studying the glassworkers. Considering their mobile elite status, should one view their socialism primarily as a response to local conditions? It may be correct to say of the home-grown coal miners of Carmaux that "the local experience . . . was the context within which . . . [they] defined their values and from which notions of social status derived their meaning" (p. 16), but is the same to be said of the glassworkers? In point of fact, the occupational crisis in glassmaking was a national one, and the glassworkers responded by organizing nationally—in the Fédération du Verre. Must not the situation in Carmaux ultimately be placed in a national perspective? Depending mainly on materials in local archives, as she did, Scott does not really develop this perspective. However solid, her work thus needs to be complemented by a study of the glassworkers as a national, or even international, socioprofessional group. Perhaps, having now established her expertise on this subject, Professor Scott will eventually provide such a study.

MICHAEL S. SMITH
University of South Carolina

MAURICE LARKIN. *Church and State after the Dreyfus Affair: The Separation Issue in France*. New York: Barnes and Noble, 1974. Pp. viii, 294. \$21.50.

The effect of the Dreyfus affair on French politics was to prevent a regrouping of forces around economic and social issues. In the eyes of many politicians the regime was once again in danger from the Right necessitating a program of Republican defense that included more stringent anticlerical measures. Like others before him, Maurice Larkin attributes the separation of Church and state in France to the anticlerical campaign launched by successive Republican ministries after the affair. Basing his instructive study on substantial archival material including the private papers of Emile Combes as well as materials from foreign archives, Larkin makes the important point that separation was the result of miscalculations on the part of the French government and on the part of the Vatican. Neither Combes nor his successor Rouvier wanted to abolish the Concordat by which the government was able to regulate religious activities in France. Combes believed that by threatening separation, he would force the Vatican to comply with the wishes of his government. Unlike Leo XIII and

his secretary of state, Cardinal Rampolla, Pius X and his secretary, Merry del Val, were less committed to the maintenance of the Concordat. They were therefore less inclined to give into the demands of the French government. But if Combes and some Republicans preferred to retain the Concordat, others among his supporters including the Socialists were persuaded that separation would remove anticlericalism as a political issue, thereby compelling the Republican bloc to give its full attention to the social question. Political pressure in the chamber in support of separation increased after the diplomatic break with the Vatican and during the quarrel over episcopal appointment in 1905 to the point where the Combes and subsequently the Rouvier ministries reluctantly concluded that separation was inevitable. The law of December 9, 1905, provided, among other things, for a disposition of Church property that was unacceptable to Rome. Papal opposition to the *associations cultuelles* was based upon a fear of the spread of anticlericalism to other Catholic countries and upon a misreading of the French political situation. Merry del Val mistakenly believed that a wave of Catholic sentiment would force the French government to adopt a property settlement more favorable to the Church. The separation of 1905, the result of poor judgment on the part of leading officials in Paris and at the Vatican, did not improve relations between Church and state in France, but instead, according to Professor Larkin, created further problems between them, some of which are unresolved to this day.

ALEXANDER SEDGWICK
University of Virginia

RAYMOND POINCARÉ. *Au service de la France: Neuf années de souvenirs*. Volume 11, *À la recherche de la paix, 1919*. Preface by PIERRE RENOUVIN. Notes by JACQUES BARIETY and PIERRE MIQUEL. Paris: Librairie Plon. 1974. Pp. 505.

This volume, the eleventh of Poincaré's memoirs, appearing more than forty years after the publication of the first ten, is in one sense unlike the others. The previous volumes were edited and prepared for publication by the author himself, and therefore lost in the process some of their historical objectivity. The present volume, however, covering the period from January to May 1919, consists of his daily notes as he wrote them, without correction or revision.

When he died in 1934 his widow specified that these papers, which he had not had time

to revise for publication, not be opened to the public until thirty-five years after his death. The present editors have presented the president's daily notes without retouching, except for some minor corrections and clarifications, which are explained in the footnotes. The footnotes in addition explain in greater detail some of the facts and personalities to which Poincaré's daily notes allude.

The reader will be struck by Poincaré's continuing and deep animus toward Clemenceau, who was engaged in the Paris peace talks throughout this period. His office was a sounding board for anti-Clemenceau talk and feeling. Foch in particular was encouraged in hostility to Clemenceau, especially with regard to the Rhineland question. Much on Poincaré's hostility focused on Clemenceau's alleged softness toward Lloyd George and Wilson when it came to questions affecting French security or interests. One can see here the growth of Poincaré's determination to ensure that Germany should not recover strength enough to threaten France again and that the French victory should not be entirely Pyrrhic; and his action in the Ruhr in 1923, when his constitutional position was such that he could implement his opinions, follows logically from this determination. There is little new in all this, but the volume does serve to confirm and accentuate developments already known or suspected.

Poincaré deeply resented Clemenceau's popularity, the "general adulation," which struck him as unmerited. His own contribution to the victory seemed unrecognized. He chafed at his constitutional position, which rendered him impotent to direct affairs. Rejecting brusquely all suggestion that he be a candidate for another term, it appears as if he wanted only to finish his presidential term so that he could return to a political level which would permit his assuming real power as *président du Conseil*. The conflict with Clemenceau came to a head in a heated argument on April 6, when the latter accused Poincaré and his friends, with some justice I think, of constantly undermining his position. Although the interview ended on a peaceful note, Poincaré characterized Clemenceau, in his notes for the day, as a madman: "And the country has made a god of this fool."

Poincaré did seem to be the one French leader who saw the fragility of the Anglo-American guarantee to France, in the form of a treaty, dependent as it was upon ratification by the American Senate. On April 23, in a written critique to Clemenceau of the treaty proposals, he pointed out that Wilson's note was only a

"personal and moral engagement" and that a more precise commitment was necessary if France were to accept a period of only fifteen years' occupation of the Rhineland, instead of the thirty years—the period foreseen for the reparation payments—that he, Poincaré, demanded.

STEPHEN RYAN
State University of New York,
College at Oneonta

BERNARD E. BROWN. *Protest in Paris: Anatomy of a Revolt*. Morristown, N.J.: General Learning Press, 1974. Pp. xii, 240. Cloth \$8.95, paper \$5.95.

With three hundred books already in print on the *Révolution introuvable*, is this one necessary? Yes; as a matter of fact, the chronology of events takes only thirty pages; the rest is bibliographical and interpretive analysis. Also Brown tries to be objective, putting the movement into some framework of Western development. However, "this is a book about modern democracies that happens to deal entirely with France," he says cryptically, so he avoids any comparison with similar movements elsewhere. He also avoids any historical parallels, except one: comparing 1968 with 1768 when "France was governed by a monarch whose rule was justified, literally, in terms of divine right." How many *parlementaires* or philosophes would have agreed with that statement? He gives no comparisons with 1789 or any other revolutionary year. Nor does he suggest that one reason France was the only country whose government almost fell in 1968 was due to her revolutionary tradition, which enabled a few dedicated extremists to arouse the public with historic slogans and deeds, such as throwing up barricades or storming the Odéon.

Brown's favorite book is *La révolution introuvable* (1968) by Raymond Aron, whose greatest contribution may be "his refusal to accept any political slogans at face value." But Aron coins a few himself: "nihilism of the esthetes," "eruption of the barbarians, unaware of their barbarity." Brown's least favorite is *The May Movement: Revolt and Reform* (1968) by Alain Touraine, Cohn-Bendit's former mentor, who applauds the students' "holy anger against phoniness, lies, and silence" while advocating participatory democracy. Brown rejects Touraine's work as political ideology, on too high a level of abstraction.

The conflict, as Brown sees it, is essentially between modernization and anarchy; moderni-

zation meaning increased rationality, labor specialization, centralization, and bureaucracy, with an emphasis on science and knowledge. Anarcho-surrealists, on the other hand, combat modernization, whether Marxist-Leninist or capitalist, in the name of emotion, passion, chance, freedom. Brown's choice for the former is never in doubt.

WESLEY D. CAMP
Adelphi University

GILDAS BERNARD. *Le Secrétariat d'État et le Conseil espagnol des Indes (1700-1808)*. (Centre de recherches d'histoire et de philologie de la IV^e Section de l'École pratique des Hautes Études. Fifth Series, Hautes études médiévales et modernes, number 14.) Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1972. Pp. viii, 296.

The succession of the Bourbons to the throne of Spain signified more than a change of dynasty. For over a century Spain was subordinated to French guidance. It was only natural, therefore, that the French advisers of Philip V should adopt French policies in the reorganization of the Spanish administration. The Habsburgs had arranged their administrative affairs under the direction of councils, following the precedent of Ferdinand and Isabella. After 1700 the Bourbons, in imitation of the French tradition, initiated the secretariat of state in an effort to centralize the control of the administration. Thus, as the Spanish colonies in the Indies began their slow progress toward emancipation and self-government, the secretariat of state was established to direct their affairs. The council of the Indies was relegated to a secondary role, and its political powers passed to the secretariat of state. The role of the council of the Indies was reduced to that of a tribunal, and the number of *Croles* named to its membership was reduced. This development contributed to the eventual separation of the Indies from Spain.

Gildas Bernard outlines the vicissitudes in the relations between the secretariat of state and the council of the Indies during the period from 1700 to 1808. Through a study of the decrees, he traces the activities of the personnel of the secretariat of state and the council of the Indies, identifying the successive ministers and councilors, listing their nominal salaries, analyzing the regulations that restricted them, and, at times, contrasting their actual with their theoretical activity. As the century evolved, the number of persons assigned to the administration of the Indies was increased, although

largely because of the penury of the treasury, the total expenditure for salaries remained about the same. It is also evident that there was an increasing standardization of the duties of the bureaucracy, and when the demands of the empire demanded flexibility, they were referred to and resolved by the council in a maze of red tape.

In addition to the extensive list of secondary works relating to his study, Bernard has investigated details in the principal Spanish libraries, the archives of the Indies at Seville; the national historical archives, the library of the royal palace, and the national library at Madrid; the archives of Simancas; and the ministry of foreign affairs at Paris. He has produced an exhaustive and authoritative account that will become a standard reference work on the subject.

RHEA MARSH SMITH
Winter Park, Florida

ROBERT MCCLINTOCK. *Man and His Circumstances: Ortega as Educator*. (Studies in Culture & Communication.) New York: Teachers College Press, Teachers College, Columbia University. 1971. Pp. xvi, 648. \$15.00.

Public education in Spain excited considerable controversy before 1939, and it is not surprising that one of Manuel Azaña's first major programs as premier of the Second Republic in 1932 was to institute a far-reaching scheme of public instruction by utilizing Lancastrian methods and the talents of the entire student body of the University of Madrid. Azaña's actions received bitter criticism from the Spanish Right; indeed, almost all earlier educational innovations had been hotly debated. From the proscription of the members of the Krausist school of philosophy who had created a private academy, the Institución de Enseñanza libre, to the execution of Francisco Ferrer, the anarchist founder of the Escuela moderna, a series of workers' schools, the pressure of Catholicism, and the class bias of the liberal state politicized education and made it a dangerous subject.

Not surprisingly, this aura of controversy attracted some of the best minds in modern Spain. Almost all the members of the intellectually famous Generation of '98 wrote on education, but none of them as seriously as José Ortega y Gasset, the author of *The Revolt of the Masses* (1957), his best-known work. Ortega's educational ideas and influence have now become the subject of a new study by

Robert McClintock of the Columbia University Teachers College.

McClintock concentrates primarily upon the interplay between Ortega's stylistic role as a leading journalist and intellectual and his involvement in the improvement of Spanish education. Hardly the type to become a classroom teacher, the main thrust of his approach came through his "pedagogy of prose," which were brilliant bits of philosophic commentary, all chosen to expose Spaniards to a new "civic pedagogy" that might aid in the Europeanization of Spain. By this he meant the circulation of scientific standards and cultural competencies of the European heritage to Spaniards in all walks of life, not to eradicate *Hispanidad*, but to complement their strong qualities of individualism, stoicism, and personal dignity. His magazines and newspapers—*España*, *Europa*, *El Sol*, and *Revista de Occidente*—all contained a flood of material designed to raise Spain out of the depths of impotence it occupied in the wake of the disaster of the Spanish-American War.

Man and His Circumstances is one of the most interesting monographs written about Ortega. It is particularly a history of his educational ideas from 1898 to about 1931, when it tails off precipitously just at the moment when reform might have been possible. Nevertheless, it is good in the way it stresses the importance of education in the struggle between Europeanizers and Hispanizers, interesting in the precise manner McClintock interprets Ortega's general philosophy in the light of his educational goals, and fascinating as a partial intellectual biography. It is less satisfactory, however, in dealing with Ortega in the political sphere. One would have to know a great deal about the condition of Spain and its political feuds to understand the context of Ortega's preachments, although one exception in the lack of political coverage is a fairly full account of the League for Spanish Political Education, perhaps the most interesting of the organizations involved in this struggle. This deficiency aside, it is an interesting and useful work.

ROBERT W. KERN
University of New Mexico

MAURICE VAN DURME. *Les Archives générales de Simancas et l'histoire de la Belgique (IX^e–XIX^e siècles)*. Volume 4, part 1, *Secretaría de Estado, Negociación de Roma (IX^e–XVIII^e siècles)*. Brussels: Commission Royale d'Histoire. 1973. Pp. xxxv, 592.

To those familiar with the quality of earlier volumes in this series, it will come as no surprise that Maurice van Durme has produced another meticulous and informative work. This is a collection of document titles from the Simancas archives, mostly of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, relating to the history of the Low Countries, especially Belgium. The bulk of the material is correspondence between the Spanish royal court and Spanish ambassadors in Rome. A good deal of the subject matter naturally involves ecclesiastical appointments, papal diplomacy, and the fortunes of Catholic factions in dozens of European religious conflicts. The documents cited in this collection should be of prime value to historians concerned with ecclesiastical or diplomatic history, with the affairs of the Spanish Habsburgs or the popes of the Reformation era. References to social, economic, and political affairs in the Low Countries are pretty scanty. There is some mention of military recruitment, campaigns in the Netherlands, and payments to Spanish armies in the field. Most document citations carry brief descriptions of the contents; the index is excellent, and the format clear.

THEODORE B. HODGES
*Office of Political Research,
Central Intelligence Agency*

KARL MOLIN. *Försvaret, folkhemmet och demokratin: Socialdemokratisk riksdagspolitik 1939-1945* [Defense, the Welfare State, and Democracy: Social-Democratic Parliamentary Politics 1939-1945]. (Sverige under andra världskriget.) Stockholm: Allmänna Förlaget. 1974. Pp. 462.

As a result of World War II, the four Swedish democratic parties joined in December 1939 in a coalition government under the leadership of the Social Democratic prime minister, Per Albin Hansson. The cabinet consisted of five Social Democrats, two Liberals (Folkpartiet), two Agrarians (Bondeförbundet), and two Conservatives (Högern) with each of the party leaders represented. The coalition lasted until July 1945, when a purely Social Democratic government was formed. Working in close cooperation under the aegis of an even larger project on the history of Sweden during the Second World War, four scholars have each examined one political party during this period. Molin's monograph analyzes the most important of the parties and the one that has dominated Sweden for more than forty years. The bibliography and critical apparatus are exemplary, and the author has made use of an astonishingly rich col-

lection of unprinted as well as printed sources. Special attention should be given to the archives of the labor movement in Stockholm (Arbetsrörelsens Arkiv) where many important papers are deposited. Three main subjects are examined: defense, "the people's home," as the welfare state is called in Swedish, and democracy. The war brought about a revision of Social Democratic attitudes toward national defense expenditures, which, in varying degrees, were now considered essential for the maintenance of Swedish neutrality and independence. All Social Democrats did not agree on what priority should be given this item, and some wished to push for social and economic changes more strenuously. After Stalingrad, the differences between the party secretary, Torsten Nilsson, and the prime minister over postwar policy became clearer. The latter believed that a continuation of the coalition would lead to the acceptance on the part of the other political parties of the Social Democratic position, whereas the party secretary held that the Social Democrats should seek their own goals without external interference. It was this policy that triumphed, and in this triumph are to be found explanations for the far-reaching social and economic changes that have taken place in Sweden since the war. Molin is to be praised for a book of sound scholarship and wide interest.

ERNST EKMAN
*University of California,
Riverside*

KONRAD H. JARAUSCH. *The Enigmatic Chancellor: Bethmann Hollweg and the Hubris of Imperial Germany*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1973. Pp. xiv, 560. \$20.00.

Much of the debate on Germany's policy before and during the First World War has focused on the personality and politics of Bethmann Hollweg, the chancellor who led Germany into war, helped define her war aims, and fell out with the military over unrestricted submarine warfare. Some consider him a well-meaning but unpolitical bureaucrat outmaneuvered by devious generals and politicians; others believe that his apparent moderation concealed a deep-seated commitment to annexation and hegemony. Most recently, studies based on the private diary of Kurt Riezler, a Bethmann confidant, suggest that Bethmann, who may have sensed the disastrous consequences of his course of action, was too caught up in Wilhelmine traditions and values to pursue an alternative.

Jarausch casts Bethmann as a perceptive, circumspect moderate, who strove in vain to liberalize Germany's political system and restrain her provocative diplomacy. He shows that as chancellor Bethmann urged conservative reforms as a means of attenuating social and political tensions, that he advocated peaceful economic expansion as the best way of improving Germany's international position, and that time and again he capitulated to the reactionary Right, which condemned domestic reform and diplomatic moderation alike. Jarausch attributes this failure of leadership in part to Bethmann's innate pessimism but largely to his inability to come to terms with the chauvinistic climate, political pressures, and constitutional limitations of the empire.

Jarausch's biography does not so much supersede the more recent interpretations as confirm them with the most detailed evidence adduced so far. It painstakingly reconstructs various discrete features of Bethmann's career, such as his policy of "calculated risk" in July 1914 or his complex relationship with the emperor, the high command, and the political parties. But the very weight of the evidence sometimes smothers the argument, and many of the details—in the text as well as in 118 pages of footnotes—are comprehensible only to experts on the period. Unfortunately Jarausch has peppered his account with unintroduced quotations on which he offers no comment. Since the original context has disappeared, the reader is unable to construe this material. One regrets the ponderous style, the bad proofreading, and the solecisms.

CHRISTOPH M. KIMMICH
Brooklyn College,
City University of New York

L. L. FARRAR, JR. *The Short-War Illusion: German Policy, Strategy & Domestic Affairs, August–December 1914.* (Twentieth Century Series.) Santa Barbara, Calif.: ABC-Clio. 1973. Pp. xvi, 207. Cloth \$14.75, paper \$4.75.

The publication of Professor Fritz Fischer's masterly book on German war aims in the First World War triggered off a fierce debate on German policy in this period, and a vast amount of work has been published on the topic, mainly in Germany. A new book in English, purporting to synthesize this debate and to introduce the problem to the general reader is therefore to be welcomed. Unfortunately the book is very disappointing. It adds nothing new to the debate, and is hardly likely to enlighten those who

are unfamiliar with the issues. The major flaw of the work is that it is almost entirely "psychologistic." It is not the real historical world that is discussed, but rather what the author thinks some of the leading actors thought, and how what they thought differed from what he thinks they should have thought. To these clusters of thoughts certain labels are attached such as "pessimism," "skepticism," "cynicism," "stoicism," and "optimism." Thus German policy is seen as a mixture of "arrogance" and "anxiety," and in a more purple passage the correct policy would have been one that steered between the "Scylla of optimism and the Charybdis of pessimism." Those who feel that such an approach is fruitful will no doubt enjoy the author's juggling with his categories and may be able to extract some hidden subtleties from such banalities as, "The conduct of war without a policy can become war without foreseeable end or purpose" (p. 147), or, "Indeed, to the extent that German success required a French decision to accept a separate peace with the Central Powers, French policy was critical" (p. 126). Too often what the author considers an illuminating paradox is but an empty tautology. Thus, to say that stalemates exist as long as one side does not win does not seem to be a major step forward in our understanding of the war. The author is so seduced by his psychological chess game that the real problems of the war get very little attention. Thus the discussion of the Battle of the Marne is very unsatisfactory, and the military aspects of the war are scarcely mentioned. The debate on the control of the economy is trivialized, no doubt because in the author's scheme of things, economic factors are of secondary importance that the Germans assumed that the war aims were less excessive when the military situation deteriorated, in fact the reverse was true. The weaker Germany became, the greater the demand for "security" and "autarky" and the more excessive the war aims. It is hardly a satisfactory explanation for Falkenhayn's relative lack of success that he had been excluded from the decision-making process—he was after all the most forceful and active of the prewar ministers of war. The author is correct to insist that there was broad agreement between the civilians and the military over war aims, but differences over means to attain them were often critical, particularly in the psychological terms in which he sees the historical drama unfolding. The central weakness of this book is that it is less important that the Germans assumed that the war would be short than that, for a complex set of

reasons, for Germany the war *had* to be short. Had the author analyzed the social, economic, military, and political nature of the war rather than getting stuck in a discussion of the faulty perceptions of these unspecified realities, he would have written a much better book. As it stands it is difficult to see what purpose this work will serve, Professor James Joll's eloquent preface to the contrary.

MARTIN KITCHEN

Simon Fraser University

UDO WENGST. *Graf Brockdorff-Rantzau und die aussenpolitischen Anfänge der Weimarer Republik*. (Moderne Geschichte und Politik, number 2.) Bern: Herbert Lang. 1973. Pp. 163. 28 fr. S.

Udo Wengst's monograph is a very incisive and useful study of German foreign policy during the transition from the Wilhelminian period to the Weimar Republic. Based on assiduous research in unpublished and published sources, Wengst's monograph concentrates on the role of Graf Brockdorff-Rantzau, Germany's secretary of state of the foreign office and foreign minister during the period when the Versailles Treaty was being negotiated. Although Wengst provides an excellent review of Rantzau's previous political activities and of German foreign policy prior to the armistice of November 11, 1918, Wengst's emphasis is on the period from the armistice until the formal signing of the Versailles Treaty.

There are no major revisions of fact or interpretation in this monograph. Much of the material presented has been more rigorously analyzed in the works of Arno Mayer, Gerhard Schultz, and Klaus Schwabe. But Wengst's very brief monograph still has much merit. Its point of reference—the really hopeless personal attempt of Rantzau to strike up a compromise with the Entente powers—is a personal theme neglected in modern German historiography. Wengst's critical analysis of Rantzau's motives and activities during the critical early months of the Weimar Republic reveals to the general reader a poignant tragedy of an individual within the framework of a larger national tragedy.

JOHN S. WOZNIAK

Fredonia, New York

CLAUS-DIETER KROHN. *Stabilisierung und ökonomische Interessen: Die Finanzpolitik des Deutschen Reiches 1923–1927*. (Studien zur modernen Geschichte, number 13.) [Düsseldorf:] Bertelsmann Universitätsverlag. 1974. Pp. 287. DM 38.

Like a Methodist sermon, the chronology of the Weimar Republic is invariably divided into three: the postwar period of upset and inflation; the interim of economic and political stability; and the final phase of deflation and parliamentary collapse. Dr. Krohn, a student of Fritz Fischer, addresses himself to the middle years in this careful, sometimes plodding study of financial policy. His thesis is that the miracle of the *Rentenmark* was not very miraculous. Actually Germany never recovered psychologically or economically from the devastating effects of the First World War. Instead, the ugly and insecure reality was hidden behind a "veil of credit." When that cover was blown away in 1930, the republic was pitilessly exposed and . . . we know the rest.

When stated in brief, this scenario is scarcely original; but the account delves into topics more often alluded to than scrupulously researched. In a step-by-step, often month-by-month narrative, Krohn treats such matters as economic planning, tax policy, personal income and prices, tariff regulations, pressure groups, unemployment compensation, farm subsidies, and industrial relations. He documents the assertion that Germany's middle and lower classes were sacrificed to financial "interests" that dominated policy making while profiting from inflation and manipulation. The preservation of privileged social status took precedence over social welfare. Hence the question of tax structure and capital gains was resolved in favor of the higher income brackets. Control of the budget was meanwhile taken from the Reichstag by the political regime; and the regime in turn was particularly susceptible to pressure from powerful lobbies. Consequently, as Krohn describes it, the republic's entire economic system was "rotten."

In scope and method the work remains essentially monographic. The time span is short, and little attempt is made to take a longer view. The book also has a certain stuffy quality, since nearly all of the action takes place in cabinet meetings and in the ministry of finance. The relationship of economic policy to its social impact is occasionally suggested, but the focus is always on bankers rather than butchers. Even so, it is instructive to learn about the dangers of financial tinkering at a time when more fundamental reforms are clearly required.

ALLAN MITCHELL

*University of California,
San Diego*

MARTIN SCHUMACHER, editor. *Parlamentspraxis in der Weimarer Republik: Die Tagungsberichte der Vereinigung der deutschen Parlamentsdirektoren, 1925 bis 1933*. (Quellen zur Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der politischen Parteien. Third Series, Die Weimarer Republik, number 2.) Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag. 1974. Pp. vii, 272. DM 72.

Two distinctive modes of political action, the bureaucratic and the parliamentary, found a peculiar conjunction in the *Parlamentsdirektoren*, officials employed by German state and local parliaments to handle their routine business. This volume contains the records of annual meetings of these directors held between 1925 and 1929.

Most of the discussion at these meetings was devoted to technical and often trivial matters: who got an official residence, how stenographers were selected, what the procedures for issuing parliamentary reports were. Only the directors' persistent preoccupation with disorder, both inside and outside the halls of parliament, clearly reflected the political climate of the Weimar years. What were the rules, they asked each other, that protected meetings from popular disruption, what were the limits of parliamentary immunity, how could the police be summoned into the parliament building? Even during the relatively peaceful middle phase of the republic, therefore, some of those closest to political life were afraid that political passions—which, by the way, they took to be primarily on the Left—would disrupt the fragile mechanisms of parliamentary discussion and debate. The impression one gets from the directors' treatment of these issues is of men who were well intentioned and knowledgeable enough but who lacked strong political commitments or instincts. Like so many servants of the regime, the directors often seemed more concerned with the forms than the substance of participatory politics. Moreover, their failure to meet during the years of crisis after 1930 suggests how reluctant they were to seek common counsel and take collective action to protect the institutions they were employed to serve. The minutes of the rump meeting of south German directors in November 1933 strengthens this impression: like some conscientious but self-absorbed employees of a firm that has just changed owners, they met to consider how the new situation would affect their own and their subordinates' careers.

The documents are edited with the meticulous care we have come to expect from the Kommission für Geschichte des Parlamentarismus

und der politischen Parteien. There is a workmanlike if not particularly inspired introduction that provides the reader with the information necessary to understand what follows. Neither the introduction nor the text convinced me, however, that the material was worth the effort and expense that went into making this book. Unlike the other documents published by the commission, these *Tagungsberichte* do not seem to have enough autonomous significance to merit publication. Nevertheless, their publication will serve a useful purpose if it encourages historians to examine German parliaments not simply as a reflection of political opinion and instruments for decision making, but also as social institutions with their own rules, symbols, and patterns of behavior. It is to be hoped that such an examination will provide us with an analysis of Weimar representative institutions comparable to Gerhard Loewenberg's fine study of the federal republic, *Parliament in the German Political System* (1966).

JAMES J. SHEEHAN
Northwestern University

BABETTE GROSS. *Willi Münzenberg: A Political Biography*. Translated by MARIAN JACKSON. [East Lansing:] Michigan State University Press. 1974. Pp. 337. \$12.50.

Willi Münzenberg: a name out of the recent past, a name well known to those in the German emigration of the 1930s, but a name still unmentionable in Soviet and East European scholarship. In life, in death, and after his death, Münzenberg posed problems. How did this eager Communist, activist, organizer, and publisher accomplish what he did? Where did he get his enormous propaganda gifts? Why did it take him so long to break with the Comintern? How did he die—by his own hand, assassinated by the Stalinists, killed by the Nazis, or executed by former friends whom he had allegedly betrayed? Finally, who was this man? What was his historical legacy? After all these years, why does Münzenberg's name receive so little mention in German and non-German works of modern history?

This book touches on many of these questions. It attempts to present an insider's view. Babette Gross met Münzenberg in 1922, lived with him, worked with him, traveled with him all over Europe and many times to Moscow. They parted only near the end in 1940 in France. In the fall of that year, Münzenberg's

body was found in a wooded area of southern France with a piece of wire around his neck. Gross has nothing new to add to the puzzle about his death; she states that the "unusual end to an unusual life" remains a mystery.

Born in Erfurt in 1889, Münzenberg came from an exceedingly modest provincial background. Little in his early career distinguished him as a future leader of the German Communist party. He was apprenticed to a barber, worked in a factory, tramped the countryside with friends. What brought a normally unpolitical young man into the orbit of political life were the attractions of membership in a plethora of Social Democratic youth organizations. Münzenberg was an inveterate joiner. Later he became a practiced organizer of groups for others to join. Moving laterally from Social Democracy to Communism, and moving vertically up the party's hierarchy, he proceeded to form all manner of membership groups in the 1920s: youth leagues, international conferences, international workers' aid groups, emergency committees to "aid the famished in Russia," international workers' loan societies, book clubs, and newspapers. Later on in the 1930s he expanded his efforts into the foundation of many more antifascist and popular front groups. Perhaps his greatest contribution in propaganda was the development of the concept of non-political fellow travelership; for the Comintern he exploited this technique to an advanced degree.

By the mid-1930s Münzenberg began to turn against Stalin. He had heard too much and seen too much to remain a true believer. Both the Moscow show trials and the Soviet-German Pact of 1939 signaled the end of his allegiance. How much of an agonizing break this meant for Münzenberg is weakly portrayed by Gross. Indeed, her biography rarely makes the inner life of the man come alive. For that one must turn to the literary work of Arthur Koestler, who wrote about Münzenberg in *The Invisible Writing*, or perhaps wait for a psycho-biography similar to Lewis Edinger's portrait of Kurt Schumacher.

RICHARD M. HUNT
Harvard University

Akten zur deutschen auswärtigen Politik, 1918-1945, aus dem Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts. Series C: 1933-1937. Das Dritte Reich: Die ersten Jahre. Volume 2, part 1, 14. Oktober 1933 bis 31. Januar 1934; part 2, 1. Februar bis 13. Juni 1934; volume 3, part 1, 14. Juni bis 31. Oktober 1934; part 2, 1. November 1934

bis 30. März 1935. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1973. Pp. lxxvii, 432; 433-941; xciv, 540; 541-1169.

The appearance of these volumes marks the steady progress in the worthwhile project of issuing the German foreign ministry documents, which have already appeared in an English edition, *Documents on German Foreign Policy 1918-1945*, series C and D (1949-66), in the original German text. Volume 1 of series C in the German edition was published in 1971 and was reviewed in this journal in some detail (*AHR*, 78 [1973]: 462). It merely remains to point out certain additional features that recommend the German edition to students and scholars, although the fine English edition will continue to serve the non-German reading clientele most adequately.

The present volumes cover the period October 1933 to March 1935, from Germany's abrupt withdrawal from the League of Nations and the World Disarmament Conference in October 1933 to the proclamation of military conscription in March 1935. Despite the shocks these and other aggressive internal and external policies on the part of the Hitler regime produced in the international community, Germany's status was transformed in this brief period from that of a pariah to that of a dominant Continental power. Although these documents cannot tell the whole story, particularly in an anarchical autocracy, as Hitler's Germany has been aptly characterized, they do depict the course of Germany's foreign relations vividly and sometimes dramatically. Note, for example, the reports of Ambassador Nadolny from Moscow, describing his acrimonious political discussions with Litvinov and his almost impassioned appeals to the Auswärtige Amt not to permit German-Russian relations to deteriorate further (which caused President von Hindenburg to pen a laconic marginal note, "Was geschieht?" on one of the reports [vol. 2, doc. 163]); or the documents reflecting relations between Hitler's Germany and Mussolini's Italy, which were frequently marked by mutual distrust and recriminations, chiefly with regard to Austria and the Danubian region, and which culminated at one point with the Italian ambassador threatening that Italy might change her attitude toward Germany and Neurath's counterthreat that Germany might do the same toward Italy (vol. 2, doc. 282). The great majority of the selected documents deal with the great powers and with such questions as the status of Austria, the Saar plebiscite, dis-

armament, and the abortive "Eastern Locarno" pact. The avid promotion of this latter project—"pactomania" Berlin called it—by the USSR and France and its rejection by Germany (and Poland!) as a *de facto* Franco-Russian alliance constitutes a leitmotiv throughout the two volumes.

Although these documents reflect the efforts of the professional diplomats of the *Auswärtige Amt* to maintain a modicum of autonomy and reserve toward the NSDAP and its noisy propaganda (Nazi activities in Danzig, the United States, and elsewhere) or to neutralize, if possible, the pseudodiplomatic activities of an obtrusive party agent like Ribbentrop (vol. 2, doc. 314), there can be no doubt that the foreign ministry, and Neurath in particular, carried out Hitler's policies of aggressive revisionism and Saturday coups with vigor and conviction. Among the most interesting documents are the lengthy accounts on the Simon-Eden conversations with Hitler in March 1935, written up by Paul Schmidt who served as Hitler's interpreter for the first time on that occasion. These documents with which volume 3 closes are a fitting threshold to the succeeding volumes, inasmuch as these British talks were to lead shortly to the Anglo-German Naval Agreement of June 1935, thus helping to put a nail in the coffin of the Versailles Treaty and international system.

The documents appear in the same strictly chronological order as in the English series, which was prepared by a tripartite team of scholars—British, French, and American. But the German editors, Hans Rothfels and Vincent Kroll, have improved on the English edition in a number of ways. Many notes (marked by an asterisk) have been emendated or amplified, and cross-references to other documentary publications and pertinent historical literature have been updated. The analytical descriptions of documents are somewhat more detailed, as are the lists of abbreviations. The lists of serials in the appendix are considerably longer and more detailed, showing the exact archival provenance of documents printed or referred to in the notes. Above all, the German edition features a long and detailed index of names, facilitating quick reference to items sought. Once again, however, one must deplore the splitting up of each volume into two separately bound parts, greatly hindering the efficient use of this otherwise admirable publication. The Stiftung Volkswagenwerk is to be commended for subsidizing the publication of this series, and it is to be

hoped that the remaining volumes of series C, including that mysterious volume 6, which never appeared in the English edition (but which apparently exists in galley proof version), will follow in due order. Nevertheless, valuable as these documentary publications are—and they should be in every university library—there is no substitute for the original documents, which are so conveniently accessible on microfilm at the National Archives or, better yet, can be inspected at the archives of the foreign ministry in Bonn, and which add substantially to the information presented in these selected documents.

CARL G. ANTHON
American University

HAROLD C. DEUTSCH. *Hitler and His Generals: The Hidden Crisis, January–June 1938*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1974. Pp. xxv, 452. \$15.00.

The coincidence early in 1938 of the removal of War Minister Werner von Blomberg—because he had married a former prostitute—and of the commander of the army, Werner von Fritsch, has been so much studied that, as Professor Deutsch remarks, the mine seemed to be largely worked out. His research shows that this was not so, though his conclusions support the generally accepted view of the two dismissals as major steps in Hitler's seizure of control of the military, and of Goering's central role in both. As Deutsch emphasizes, an important result was the invigoration of anti-Hitler forces in the military, particularly through Hans Oster in the *Abwehr*.

The documentation is formidable. There are three pages listing names of persons interviewed, with Hans Gisevius and Josef Müller evidently the most rewarding informants. Numerous unpublished documents, many in private hands, are cited. The published sources most used are the works of Gisevius and of Hitler's adjutants, Wiedemann and Hossbach, and the 1949 account of the Fritsch trial by Johann Kielmansegg.

The book combines judicious evaluation of conflicting accounts with the tension of a well-told detective story. The presentation of Blomberg's fall is, if anything, overdetailed, while the story of the plot against Fritsch, though longer, is more absorbing, perhaps because of its intricate course and its immediate relationship to the occupation of Austria. Whether the dossier "proving" Fritsch's homosexuality really

existed in 1936, or was prepared in December 1937, remains doubtful, as does the connection of the affair with the accelerated pressure on Austria. The Nazi leaders involved, including Himmler, appear limitlessly base, cheap, and dishonest. One of Deutsch's significant achievements is to bring out the role of the Gestapo interrogator, Franz Huber, who found and reported late in January material held by the Gestapo which showed that in all probability the charge against Fritsch was based on mistaken identity. Yet the general was tried, and only absolute proof produced late in the trial resulted in a verdict of innocence. The infallible Führer had already cashiered him, and the grudging rehabilitation later accorded him neither restored his honor nor undid the *revirement* that ushered in the truly megalomaniac phase of Hitler's activities. The weak performance of Fritsch during the whole episode remains puzzling, as does the apparent unawareness of the *Generalität* concerning what was happening to them.

All in all, this is an expert and fascinating study. It does lead to some cautionary thoughts about interviews long after the fact, which, however valuable they may be, offer too many chances for slipping memories and self-dramatization. So even the careful analyses here leave some doubts about which version among conflicting accounts is really the truth.

REGINALD H. PHELPS
Harvard University

MARVIN L. BROWN, JR. *Heinrich von Haymerle: Austro-Hungarian Career Diplomat, 1828-81*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 1973. Pp. xii, 238. \$12.95.

The colorful and exciting Count Julius Andrassy would have been a hard act to follow as Austro-Hungarian foreign minister in 1879 even if his successor had not been as colorless and unexciting as Baron Heinrich von Haymerle. In addition, Haymerle, during his relatively short tenure as foreign minister—he died in 1881—had to share the stage with Bismarck, whose slurs against him have been accepted uncritically by historians. Within the narrow framework of old-fashioned diplomatic history, Brown attempts to rescue Haymerle's reputation partly by making virtues out of his blandness, cautiousness, technical proficiency, and attention to details. Using Austrian, German, British, and American documents, Brown traces Haymerle's rise from subordinate posts in Con-

stantinople, Athens, and Frankfurt to appointments as minister at the Hague in 1872, ambassador to Italy in 1877, and foreign minister. Along the way, Haymerle undertook difficult missions in 1864 and 1866 to restore relations with Denmark and Prussia, and he served as a plenipotentiary at the Congress of Berlin. Stress is placed upon his ambassadorial mission in Rome, his relations with Germany, and his Balkan policy.

While succeeding to a degree in countering aspersions by Bismarck and others, Brown's rescue operation fails because he chooses the wrong ground and is too unsophisticated in his treatment of sociopolitical and psychological factors. The latter especially is true of his defense of Haymerle's personality and his comprehension of the foreign minister's "moderate liberalism" in the Habsburg context. Haymerle's reputation does not gain from an ahistorical contrast between his "moderate" diplomacy—especially with regard to Serbia—and the "aggressive" diplomacy of his successors after 1900, a contrast which ignores the fact that changing historical situations often compel a change in diplomatic methods to achieve the same foreign-policy objectives. His efforts to explain why Bismarck prevailed over Haymerle on key issues such as scotching the Habsburg foreign minister's dream of an Austro-German-English alliance in favor of the Three Emperors' Alliance are unnecessary; Germany was the incomparably stronger partner in the bilateral Austro-German alliance, and the reality of power assured the predominance of German views in all important matters. Most damaging of all is Brown's insistence on the difference between Haymerle's policy—particularly in the Balkans—and Andrassy's, when, in fact, the reverse is true. From the start Haymerle was determined to stand firmly by the Treaty of Berlin and to force Russia to recognize the advantages gained by Austria-Hungary at the Congress of Berlin. What Haymerle's policy sought and got, as the Haymerle-Kálnoky correspondence—to which Brown apparently had access—reveals, was the predominance of Austro-Hungarian influence in Romania and the western Balkans and a fair measure of influence in Bulgaria. In achieving this he not only built successfully on the foundations laid by Andrassy but surpassed his predecessor in establishing tolerable relations with Russia at the same time. Haymerle may have been "plodding" and "unadventurous," but he contributed to shoring up the great power position of the Habsburg monarchy,

and, under the circumstances, he came off rather well in his diplomatic duels with Bismarck. For these achievements—leaving aside a more substantive critique that would go beyond diplomatic history—Haymerle deserves better treatment at the hands of diplomatic historians. A step in that direction is F. R. Bridge's *From Sadowa to Sarajevo: The Foreign Policy of Austria-Hungary, 1866-1914* (1972).

SOLOMON WANK

Franklin and Marshall College

RICHARD BLAAS, editor. *Le relazioni diplomatiche fra l'Austria e lo Stato Pontificio*. Third Series: 1848-1860. Volume 1 (28 novembre 1848-28 dicembre 1849). (Fonti per la storia d'Italia. Documenti per la storia delle relazioni diplomatiche fra le grandi Potenze europee e gli Stati italiani, 1814-1860. Part 2, Documenti esteri.) Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per l'Età Moderna e Contemporanea. 1973. Pp. xvii, 501. L. 8,000.

This latest volume in a distinguished series publishes all the diplomatic correspondence in the Haus-Hof- und Staatsarchiv in Vienna on Austria's relations with the Papal States, beginning with Pius IX's flight from Rome in November 1848, continuing through the Roman Republic, the Gaeta conferences, and French and Austrian intervention and occupation, and ending in December 1849 with the pope still delaying his return. The most important correspondence is that between the new Austrian premier, Prince Felix Schwarzenberg, and Count Moritz Esterházy, envoy extraordinary to the pope. Attached to these dispatches are many others, especially to and from Baron Hübner, Austrian ambassador at Paris, dealing with the high politics of the Roman question. Many other documents, especially Austrian consular reports, illuminate its military, internal political, social, and even economic aspects. The collection is expertly edited by Dr. Blaas, director of the Staatsarchiv and an authority on nineteenth-century Austro-Italian relations.

Those familiar with the huge literature on the Roman question will find nothing startling here; nonetheless, important nuances and impressions emerge. The Esterházy one encounters in these pages, an active and ardent defender of Austrian interests and papal rights, is a far cry from the apathetic Austrian representative of the 1850s or the fatalistically pessimistic adviser to Count Mensdorff in 1865-66. Plenty of evidence is here (if more is needed) that Schwarzenberg acted more like a Metternichian conciliator than a Bismarckian *Realpolitiker*.

Most striking is the disillusioned, clear-eyed recognition by all Austrians that they were trapped—that they had to help rescue Pius IX, though they could not trust him either to reform his regime, or to stand on his own feet, or even not to commit again the anti-Austrian follies of 1847-48.

These documents also show how misleading it is to see Austro-French interaction and rivalry in this question as simply a great power quarrel over spheres of influence. Without accepting Hübner's contention that Austria acted purely in the cause of civilization and true religion, while France aimed simply at selfish political gains for the sake of glory and parliamentary triumphs, one has to recognize a fundamental difference in the two countries' policies. Austria sought to ally and cooperate with France over Rome, so as to control France and save the existing system; France sought to act alone, so as to challenge Austria and overthrow the system.

PAUL W. SCHROEDER

University of Illinois,
Urbana-Champaign

HEIMOLD HELCZMANOVSKI, editor. *Beiträge zur Bevölkerungs- und Sozialgeschichte Österreichs: Nebst einem Überblick über die Entwicklung der Bevölkerungs- und Sozialstatistik*. Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag. 1973. Pp. 448. DM 52.

This work is designed to provide information about some aspects of the demographic and social history of Austria as well as about methods, concepts, and goals of scholarly endeavors in social statistics. The book, comprising contributions by several professors of the University of Vienna, members of the Institut für Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte, geographers, sociologists, professional statisticians, and others, should prove to be a useful work, though some contributions, especially in the fourth and last part of the book, "Sozialhistorische und sozialgeographische Monographien aus Österreich," are by necessity of local and limited significance. The first part of the book deals with the principles of demography and social statistics and the history relating to its theory and methods, the second with the growth of population and the social structure of Austria, and the third with the development of Austrian demography and social statistics.

Statistics received a splendid start in Austria about the middle of the nineteenth century and was given a new stimulus by the census of 1869. Austria-Hungary has had a number of

outstanding statisticians of worldwide reputation, Karl Freiherr von Czoernig and Karl Theodor von Inama-Sternegg, who happened to be also historians, and several noted scholars in the twentieth century. Some of them have pointed to the need not only for establishing and utilizing quantitative data, but also for giving closest attention to qualitative categories. Through ingenious methods social historians, social geographers, and students of demography have attempted to push the borders of knowledge back into earlier centuries in which neither an official census existed, nor any serious scholarly statistical research.

Several contributors stress the desirability of a closer connection between statistics and history, while Leopold Rosenmayr, writing about pioneers of cooperation between statistics and sociology, underlines the contributions of Professor Paul F. Lazarsfeld of Columbia University and his noted collaborators at the University of Vienna in the twenties and thirties, all of whom left later for the United States. In Austria the trend toward the application of statistical methods in the social sciences was interrupted after the annexation, and empirical research was not resumed until the 1950s. Of special interest to the historian of Austria will perhaps be the essays dealing with population growth, covering the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries by Kurt Klein and the last hundred years by the editor himself.

ALFRED D. LOW
Marquette University

FRANZ GOLDNER. *Die österreichische Emigration, 1938 bis 1945*. (Das einsame Gewissen, number 6.) Vienna: Verlag Herold. 1972. Pp. 348.

This is a volume in *Das einsame Gewissen*, a series designed to show that Austrians suffered under Nazi rule and that they opposed it. Other works in the collection cover activities and conditions inside Austria. This book describes and evaluates the work of politically active Austrian expatriates in France, the United States, Great Britain, Sweden, Latin America, and the Soviet Union. It also relates these activities to the diplomatic policies of the Allied powers during World War II. Like so many other worthwhile books, it is inappropriately titled. The text concerns only a fragment of "the Austrian emigration" from the *Anschluss* to the fall of Hitler. It excludes those remarkable artists, intellectuals, and professionals who made careers and contributions in other coun-

tries. It also excludes the Jews as a group because their emigration was "racial" in stimulus and their attitudes toward Austria's future were passive. Geographically, it overstates the United States, slights the Soviet Union, and ignores Yugoslavia, Hungary, and Bulgaria, where some Austrian liberation activity took place. Goldner's emphasis reflects the contours of his source materials, namely, American archival documents, the papers of Hans Rott, a former minister in Schuschnigg's cabinet, and his own experience among Austrian expatriates.

The political emigrés had a common foe in Hitler, but a backlog of mutual enmity and ideological disparity frustrated their cooperative programs. Goldner is especially critical of the expatriate Social Democrats, who opposed a restoration of Austrian independence and obstructed all efforts to create an emigré coalition. He also criticizes Otto von Habsburg's mismanagement of the abortive project to establish an Austrian battalion in the United States Army. This episode and the factional disputes within the State and War departments are closely researched and clearly explained.

The story of Austria's political emigrés is a study of failure in a winning cause. They failed to develop an outstanding leader, they never accomplished unity, they gained no recognition as a resistance movement, and they lost touch with their homeland. After the war, Austria's political destiny was improvised by the occupation authorities and by Austrians who had remained inside the country.

GERALD H. DAVIS
Georgia State University

GIUSEPPE PIGNATELLI. *Aspetti della propaganda cattolica a Roma da Pio VI a Leone XII*. (Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano. Biblioteca scientifica. Second Series: Memorie. Volume 29.) Rome: the Istituto. 1974. Pp. 367. L. 6,000.

Few questions as consistently demand, but seldom receive, the attention of historians as does the study of the arguments of losers in the great debates of the past. It is a task the profession neglects more often than not. What did alchemy offer to the multitudes it attracted? Why were Galileo's opponents so obtuse? How did the religious establishment respond to the Enlightenment's challenge? In the case of France, R. R. Palmer's *Catholics and Unbelievers in Eighteenth Century France* (1939) taught us that the Catholic tradition was only occasionally right, but always alive and creative.

Giuseppe Pignatelli's recent book attempts to do something similar for the period of the revolution and restoration in Italy. Pignatelli begins his story in 1785 with the foundation of the *Giornale ecclesiastico di Roma*. Almost a decade earlier the papacy had ordered the Society of Jesus suppressed, and with that it lost one of the most effective defenders of papal privilege and prerogative. The Church, especially the papacy, needed a means of defense or, at the very least, a platform for disseminating its views on important issues. Pignatelli, relying heavily on the archival materials he has mastered so well, traces the birth and development of the papacy's entry into the world of journalism. The work concludes with the pontificate of Leo XII and thus avoids the difficult and complex problem of the papacy's relationship to the Risorgimento and nineteenth-century nationalism.

At the end of the eighteenth century the Church no longer belonged to the preindustrial world of Gallicanism and Jansenism; at the same time it had not yet entered the industrial world of socialism and the nation state. Pignatelli concentrates on this period of transition. Because he works in the twilights and dawns of a large institution, Pignatelli had to master the complex ecclesiological and jurisdictional debates that the eighteenth century loved so well. He rejects the thesis Luigi Salvatorelli first articulated in 1935 and demonstrates that the Catholic propagandists of pre-Risorgimento Italy were men who participated in the mainstream of Italian political and social thought. While it would be incorrect to hail Pignatelli as the Palmer of his generation, a greeting as a fine young historian is fully justified. The *Aspetti della propaganda cattolica a Roma* is a good first book that illuminates a neglected corner of history and will surely serve as a foundation upon which others will build.

JOHN J. RENALDO
Carnegie-Mellon University

FEDERICO CURATO, editor. *Le relazioni diplomatiche fra la Gran Bretagna e il Regno di Sardegna*. First Series: 1814-1830. Volume 2 (25 aprile 1821-20 novembre 1830). (Fonti per la storia d'Italia. Documenti per la storia delle relazioni diplomatiche fra le grandi Potenze europee e gli Stati italiani, 1814-1860. Part 2, Documenti esteri.) Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per l'Età Moderna e Contemporanea. 1973. Pp. xvii, 605. L. 8,000.

The concerned student may recall my addressing salaams to Federico Curato for his first

volume in this valuable set (*AHR*, 79 [1974]: 810-11). Now the installment of dispatches for 1821-30 from the British diplomats at Turin offers news of the Sardinian states and Europe from the aftermath of Austria's military intervention to the consolidation of France's July Monarchy. The preface and technical apparatus are Italian; a few papers are French; the vast proportion of the reports are English. Solid history plus tidbits about the Congress of Verona, Count Adam Neipperg the *amant de coeur* and thenmorganatic husband of Napoleon's relict Duchess Maria Luisa of Parma, or Waldensian oppression seventeen decades after Milton composed "On the Late Massacre in Piedmont," keep anyone from standing in starvation corner. At his great inaugural lecture of 1895, Lord Acton noted: "Every country in succession has now allowed the exploration of its records, and there is more fear of drowning than of drought." This kaleidoscopic six-hundred-page paperback that weighs almost a chilogrammo holds no startling revelations, but I must include one novelty. I saw evidence beyond Alan J. Reinerman's cutoff date for the St. Petersburg meddling introduced in his recent article, "Metternich, Alexander I, and the Russian Challenge in Italy, 1815-1820" (*Journal of Modern History*, 46 [1974]: 262-76). To close: if you are ambitious for a game of general post, order the Curato documentary; if you prefer blindman's buff, find a secondary reference.

DUANE KOENIG
University of Miami

ARMANDO SAITTA, editor. *Le relazioni diplomatiche fra la Francia e il Regno delle Due Sicilie*. Second Series: 1830-1848. Volume 2 (6 gennaio 1836-3 dicembre 1840). (Fonti per la storia d'Italia. Documenti per la storia delle relazioni diplomatiche fra le grandi Potenze europee e gli Stati italiani, 1814-1860. Part 2, Documenti esteri.) Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per l'Età Moderna e Contemporanea. 1973. Pp. 335. L. 8,000.

Relations between France and the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies remained in the same unsatisfactory state in the second half of the 1830s as in the first half (see *AHR*, 73 [1967]: 126-27). This collection of 131 French documents contains the usual complaints about corruption, inefficiency, and procrastination in the government of Ferdinand II; about the treatment of French commercial and financial interests; about wretched conditions in Sicily; and about Austrian intrigue and influence at Naples. France became greatly irritated in 1837

over the denial of the right of French mail boats to touch Naples and actually sent warships before the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies began to relent. The two countries were without ambassadors until the spring of 1840, and the reports of interim diplomats show a lack of intimate contact with ruling circles in Naples and at times a superficial understanding of conditions in south Italy. Reports on the origins and harsh suppression of the Sicilian uprisings that began in July 1837 are of some value.

A turn for the better in relations between the two countries seems to have commenced in January 1840 when Ferdinand II handled a visit from the duke of Bordeaux, son of the duchess of Berry and claimant to the French throne, in an unusually tactful way. The big advance came when France mediated a serious confrontation between England and the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies over a sulphur monopoly that had been granted to a French company. The French skillfully handled these delicate negotiations involving an end of the monopoly, compensations to English interests, and an indemnity to the company. As war clouds gathered in Europe over the Near Eastern question, the duke of Montebello, newly arrived as French ambassador, could happily report strong sympathy at Naples for France but that Ferdinand II was determined to preserve the neutrality of his country.

WILLIAM C. ASKEW
Colgate University

RENÉ RISTELHUEBER. *A History of the Balkan Peoples*. Edited and translated by SHERMAN DAVID SPECTOR. New York: Twayne Publishers. 1971. Pp. 470.

René Ristelhueber's *Histoire des peuples balkaniques* first appeared in 1950. Now comes a translation and general updating, the work of Sherman D. Spector, best known as an expert on twentieth-century Romania. The translation is not without blemishes, some of them foolish, but overall it opens up Balkan history for the intelligent public with a commendable felicity. The updating takes the form of a second preface, some additional explanatory notes, a short final chapter on "The Balkan States since 1950," and a second conclusion. Unfortunately, while maps abound, a failure to use English wording on them leaves a curiously out-of-place Ristelhueber contribution intact and gives the impression of an insufficiently thorough editorial method. So does the presentation of the chrono-

logical tables in two separate and differently laid out parts.

While the original text contains a number of romantic aberrations, vagueness as to numbers, incomprehensible omissions of key facts in the unfolding of vital strands of lengthy historical processes, and a collection of distressingly numerous loose ends, it was well worth launching into the wider worlds employing the English tongue. Good general histories of any period of Balkan affairs are very few and far between. Good treatments of the region in the Christian era are as rare as Serbs in Sofia. With all its drawbacks this is still the best obtainable. Not only does it have the bulk of the central themes reasonably clear, but it manages to include an enormous number of special terms and to put over a whole series of subtleties in an amazingly restricted space. No serious student can put it down without having acquired a meaningful knowledge of the ethnic clashes, religious complications, and power politics of the area over the centuries. And while some portions of the nineteenth-century treatments might have been better, the interwar chapters reach an impressive level of achievement.

Professor Spector's own chapter tends to be something of a rigmarole, but a useful one for all that, and is free from any distressingly subjective prattlings on the evils of communism. It would, however, have been better had he pressed his publisher for more space and thereby acquired the means to do himself justice.

MICHAEL HURST
St. John's College,
Oxford

DOMNA DONTAS. *Hē Hellas kai hai dunameis kata ton Krimaikon Polemon* [Greece and the Powers during the Crimean War]. (Idruma Meletôn tes Chersonêsou tou Aimou, 146.) Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies. 1973. Pp. viii, 165.

Greece's involvement in the diplomatic events of the Crimean War era has been studied at some length previously, most notably in the almost half-century old, but still very valuable, work of Driault and L'héritier, *Histoire diplomatique de la Grèce de 1821 à nos jours* (1925-26). Yet there surely has been a need for a reappraisal of that period; and Domna Dontas's book has done this admirably. Although the author does not come to any startling new conclusions in her analysis, she investigates with great care the chain of events leading to the dispatch of British and French forces to the Piraeus in 1854, a step that brought about a

partial occupation of Greek territory until 1857. The author also gives the reader the factual details necessary to understand how the government of the Greek king, Otho, was forced to drop its anti-Ottoman stance in favor of a foreign policy that was in all important particulars dictated by France and Britain with the acquiescence of Austria and Prussia.

In presenting the situation that confronted the Greek government as Russia drifted into the Crimean War, the author describes the way in which King Otho and his ministers encouraged a more active role for their country. Bavarian-born, the king nevertheless had identified himself fully with the movement in Greece to expand at the expense of the Ottoman Empire. A Russian-Ottoman war seemed too good a chance for the Greeks to miss even though Russia previously had not favored Greek expansion lest her own designs in Southeastern Europe be thwarted. At the same time Britain and France were determined to prevent a Greek rupture with the Turks. Warned by his Bavarian, Prussian, and Austrian relatives to avoid hostilities, Otho could not without threatening his throne espouse a stand against Greek expansion. Finally he was forced by France and Britain to change ministries, proclaim neutrality, and suffer a humiliating military occupation of part of his kingdom. Ironically, for Otho himself the occupation became a temporary source of strength to his tottering throne since the unpopular neutrality decision could be blamed on outside pressures that had forced the king's hand. The period of the occupation was one in which Greeks continued to run the government; but the fundamental decisions in foreign policy were dictated by others. In both that era and in the time just before it, the British and French representatives at Athens were the instruments and the symbols of their countries' control.

Mrs. Dontas has based her study on Greek, British, Austrian, and French archival collections, Greek, English, and Bavarian newspapers, as well as on a wealth of published documents, memoirs, and secondary authorities. Happily for the reader she gives all dates in the Gregorian calendar, thus avoiding the necessity of converting from the Julian used in Greece during the nineteenth century. However, it might have been helpful to future scholars if she had indicated specifically in her citations which, if any, of the archival materials may have been originally written under Julian dates. While one might quibble at places with her generalizations

about the attitudes of the various powers, there is no doubt that her scholarship is of an extremely high caliber. Her work, in short, is a welcome addition to the study of nineteenth-century Greek diplomatic history.

GEORGE J. MARCOPOULOS
Tufts University

KAROL NIRI. *Ot edinogo rabocheho fronta—k edinoi partii rabocheho klassa Rumynii, april' 1944—febral' 1948 goda* [From a Single Workers' Front to a Single Party of the Working Class of Romania, April 1944–February 1948]. (Bibliotheca Historica Romaniae. Studies, 39.) Bucharest: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Sotzialisticheskoi Republiki Rumynii. 1972. Pp. 268. Lei 10.50.

Justification of the official doctrine of "popular origins" of the Romanian Communist party is a major task assigned to Romanian historians of communism. The present study by Karol Niri, published in the widely read and frequently distinguished volumes comprising the *Bibliotheca Historica Romaniae*, is an important contribution to the history of the Communist movement in Romania between April 1944 and February 1948 in that it provides arguments in support of the ideological and political theses related to legitimacy that have been expounded by leaders of the Romanian Communist party from at least as early as 1964. Also important is the fact that the book was published, both in Romania and abroad, in Russian, a language of limited familiarity to students of Romanian affairs, and was therefore apparently written for Russian consumption at least as much as for internal Romanian use.

In a matter-of-fact manner Niri presents a detailed, descriptive, factual account of the popular mass movement that assumed its original form as the United Workers' Front in 1944 and culminated in the Romanian Workers' party of later years. The stress is on the Romanian roots and characteristics of the movement and on the essential part played by the Romanian Communists in the creation and evolution of the United Workers' Front. The roles of the Kremlin, of the Red Armies, and of other non-Romanian Communists are acknowledged but are not attributed more than auxiliary significance in the history of communism in Romania. The contributions, positive or negative, of other forces such as the Western powers, the Romanian monarchy, and other Romanian political parties and formations are accorded more space than in similar works on Romanian communism, but the evaluation of the entire historic

process remains simplistic and basically one-sided.

Niri's work is *à thèse* and politically inspired. It illustrates subtle changes in the evolution of Romanian historiography on the Communist movement. It fails to provide, however, new data or a persuasive analysis of the events of a crucial period in the history of contemporary Romania.

STEPHEN FISCHER-GALAȚI
University of Colorado,
Boulder

ÁGNES R. VÁRKONYI. *A pozitívista történet szemlélet a magyar történetírásban* [The Positivist View of History in Hungarian Historiography]. Volume 1, *A pozitívista történet szemlélet Európában és hazai értékelése, 1830–1945* [The Positivist View of History in Europe and Its Assessment in Hungary, 1830–1945]; volume 2, *A pozitívizmus gyökerei és kibontakozása Magyarországon, 1830–1860* [The Roots of Positivism and Its Emergence in Hungary, 1830–1860]. (Tudománytörténeti tanulmányok 6.) Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. 1973. Pp. 308; 521. 156 Ft. the set.

The present work continues and greatly expands a study published a few years ago (and reviewed by George Barany, *AHR*, 77 [1972]: 731–33). It challenges the accepted view, held chiefly by the historians of the *Geistesgeschichte* school, that Hungarian historians of the mid-nineteenth century trailed some fifty years behind their Western counterparts in outlook and methodology, that they produced either romantic *schwärmerei* or unpretentious compendia involving no philosophical commitment, and that modern, that is, positivist, historiography appeared in Hungary only in the 1870s.

Volume 1, subtitled "The Positivist View of History in Europe and Its Assessment in Hungary," seeks, first, to find common denominators in the views of Comte, Littré, Taine, Mill, Buckle, Lecky, Draper, and Spencer; second, it traces the ins and outs of the Hungarocentric nationalism that tended to dominate Hungarian historiography from the 1870s on. In practice, writers like Acsády, Marczali, Jászi, and a few others who represented to a lesser or greater degree the liberal and scientific traditions of positivism were relegated to the background as unrepresentative of the "true Hungarian spirit," while those who saw their country's history in the light of the chauvinistic, quasi-feudal orthodoxy of the day prevailed. It was these historians who thought the work of their nineteenth-century forebears either trivial or irrelevant.

The fact of the matter is, argues Várkonyi, that Hungarian historians of the period were trailblazers of modern Hungarian historiography who had learned the modern historian's craft from masters like Ranke, Michelet, Guizot, Augustin Thierry, Schlosser, Macaulay, and other Western scholars. In producing studies of commerce, mining, agriculture, taxation, industry, legal developments, and social movements, these historians not only put an end to the notion that history chronicles only the wars, rebellions, and other doings of the nobility but, more important, strove to create a new image of the Hungarian nation. They were writers who were deeply committed to agnosticism, anti-feudalism, and liberal, democratic progressivism. Their stance anticipated the approach and methodology that were to characterize Buckle, Draper, and the other positivists. This is the first part of Várkonyi's twofold thesis. The second part is that the task of these historians was beset by a basic contradiction. On the one hand, in serving the needs of the new *embourgeoisement*, scholars brought to daylight facts and documents relating to the activities and interests of the traditionally disenfranchised classes. On the other hand, in attempting to create a new concept of nationhood that would successfully harmonize the disparate interests of the various nationalities, religious groups, and social classes of the country, they inevitably stressed the historic nation-building role of the nobility. The former argued for the obsolescence of the nobility, the latter, for its ability to change with the times.

It is in volume 2, subtitled "The Roots of Positivism and Its Emergence in Hungary, 1830–1860," that Várkonyi presents the details that support her twofold thesis. Taking the work of Mihály Horváth (1840s) and László Szalay's history of Hungary (1859) as her terminal points, she surveys the writings of a host of historians, social thinkers, publicists, philosophers, scientists, ethnographers, and literary scholars whose works played a role in the development of Hungary's bifurcated self-image. It is impossible within the confines of this brief review even to sketch the immensely rich and varied nature of the mass of material Várkonyi presents. Suffice it to say, her work must be considered a major contribution not just to Hungarian historiography but to Hungarian cultural history as well. It will be indispensable to anyone studying the development of modern Hungary.

THOMAS R. MARK
Colorado State University

ADALBERT TOTH. *Parteien und Reichstagswahlen in Ungarn, 1848-1892*. (Südosteuropäische Arbeiten, 70.) Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag. 1973. Pp. 383.

As the author himself states, this study aims to be "a contribution to the history of nineteenth-century Hungarian parliamentarianism." He goes about this goal methodically, concentrating on the political parties and party factions, and on their relationship to one another and to the Hungarian state and society. By doing this, he deals less with the Hungarian constitutional system in abstract and more with the constitutional realities in the period between 1848 and 1892.

In this work of about 350 pages (discounting bibliography and index), the author's own exposition takes up only about 140 pages. The remaining 210 pages are devoted to statistical tables on various aspects of Hungarian party politics and political elections.

The author's essay follows the typical scheme of German doctoral dissertations, discussing the results of past research, commenting on the available sources, establishing his goals, making references to earlier models, and only then turning to the essence of the problem. In this instance the latter consists of a summary of the development and main characteristics of Hungarian political parties, an analysis of their structure and functioning, and a description of how they fitted into the three main political tendencies of nineteenth-century Hungarian politics, identified here as the ruling liberal trend, and the moderate and radical oppositions.

While the author's exposition is commendable, in the long run the organized data in the latter two-thirds of his work will prove to be more valuable. Particularly significant are his listing of over four hundred election districts; his tabular description of the changing political tendencies in these election districts; his portrayal of the relative share of political influence of the three main tendencies; his listing of the leadership elements of political parties, their press organs, and their top publicists; and his register of the names, vital statistics, and party affiliations of over 2,300 members of the parliament between 1848 and 1892.

All in all Toth's work is a useful handbook for the study of Hungary's political and social climate, particularly during the first half of dualism (1867-92). One can only hope that he will continue his work and supply us with a similar compilation and analysis on the turbu-

lent years of the second half of that period as well.

STEVEN BELA VARDY
Duquesne University

I. T. BEREND and G. RANKI. *Hungary: A Century of Economic Development*. (National Economic Histories.) New York: Barnes and Noble. 1974. Pp. 263. \$18.50.

The first volume, on Argentina, in this ambitious series on national economic histories argues that in 1939 Argentina was a rich country; today she is much less so. The second volume, on Hungary, demonstrates that in 1939 this Central European kingdom was a poor country; today the people's democracy is much less so. In fact, Hungary under János Kádár is experiencing an economic growth comparable to the progress she enjoyed under Francis Joseph. Still, the shortcomings of today's economy are as grave as were those of the Dual Monarchy and Professors Berend and Ranki do not gloss over the shortcomings of the past or the present. This well-known pair of historians (see their recent *Economic Development in East-Central Europe in the 19th and 20th Centuries* [1974]) occupy important public offices in socialist Hungary, but they unhesitatingly give each period, whether capitalist or socialist, its just appraisal. The decades between 1848 and 1914 saw fabulous expansion in agriculture and industry. Hungarian economic growth was among the most accelerated in Europe. Domestic capital formation assured self-sustained development by the turn of the century. But land distribution was terribly unjust, and the real wages of laborers and workers remained far below the Western European average. World War I put an end to growth. Hungary first ruined herself through war expenditures and then she was truncated. Forced into economic autarky, she moved at a snail's pace in the interwar period, at least until her association with Nazi Germany. There followed a brief era of prosperity, ending in disaster with the demise of the Third Reich. Hungary's physical destruction was among the worst in Europe; her postwar inflation undoubtedly the worst. Stalinism brought a new drive for economic autarky, together with the absurdities of forced industrialization and the neglect of agriculture. The consequences of the Rákosi years are still visible in the general backwardness of Hungarian technology, but the New Economic Mechanism has brought prosperity to collective farmers and to several branches of industry. Most people live better, a minority as

poorly as before. All this is presented clearly, patiently, without stylistic bravura, and with absolute reliability. The translation by the American historian Richard Allen is excellent; someone ought to have checked the spelling of German words in the bibliography, however.

ISTVAN DEAK
Columbia University

GEORG VON RAUCH. *The Baltic States: The Years of Independence: Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, 1917-1940*. Translated from the German by GERALD ONN. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1974. Pp. xv, 265. \$10.95.

The Baltic peoples of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania have attracted a considerable amount of attention in the last several years as scholars have turned to the study of the nationalities of the Soviet Union, but there is still a dearth of reliable surveys of the history of this region. The combination of different linguistic and religious heritages, complicated by different historical and political developments, makes the problem of bringing these three peoples, however small, together into one study truly formidable. Professor von Rauch has made a bold effort in this work, first published in German in 1970.

The study is strongest in considering the politics of independent Latvia and Estonia and in recounting the fate of the German minority in this region. It is generally weaker in considering Lithuania. The effort, moreover, to narrate the history of all three nations at the same time is not altogether successful. The work also suffers somewhat in translation; von Rauch's own impressive acquaintance with the Baltic scene has been filtered by the translator and the editor with the result, for example, that some names have become barely recognizable.

The book nevertheless represents an important contribution to the literature on the Baltic states. As a comparative introduction to the three nations, it does not completely replace such works as *The Baltic States* (1938), or Piotr Łossowski's *Kraje bałtyckie na drodze od demokracji parlamentarnej do dyktatury (1918-1934)* (1972), but it certainly takes its place beside them.

ALFRED ERICH SENN
University of Wisconsin,
Madison

M. A. ALPATOV. *Russkaia istoricheskaiia mysl' i Zapadnaia Evropa, XII-XVII vv.* [Russian Historical Thought and Western Europe, 12th-17th

Centuries]. (Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Institut Istorii SSSR.) Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1973. Pp. 475.

The foremost problem with this work is that there is not much one can say about "Russian historical thought and Western Europe" before the late seventeenth century. Alpatov, nevertheless, proposes to publish a second volume to complete his study of the topic. What Alpatov in fact has done is to record every reference to Western Europe in Russian literature of the period and every reference to Russia that he can find in Western sources. The author proceeds from the assumptions that Russia and Western Europe possess common historical roots and that Russia's historical task prior to the reign of Peter the Great was to prepare itself physically and intellectually for the time when it would take its place alongside the other European powers. Alpatov therefore brings forth whatever strong or weak evidence he can find to substantiate this notion, neglecting whatever else might suggest another conclusion. This is particularly evident in his treatment of the sixteenth century, during which—there is considerable reason to suspect—the Muscovites looked to the East at least as much as to the West. Ivan Peresvetov is brushed aside, and Ivan the Terrible's war in Livonia is considered a conscious effort to break through to the West, whereas his conquests of Kazan and Astrakhan merely represented acquisitions of territory. The author is on firmer ground with this idea in the second half of the seventeenth century, but this does not make valid his treatment of earlier centuries.

The Russians did not have much to say about Western Europe, nor did the Western Europeans have much to say about Russia until the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and what was written then had little to do with "historical thought." Alpatov uses scores of pages to paraphrase what European travelers in the sixteenth century reported about Muscovite Russia. His second volume will presumably do the same with seventeenth-century travelers. Several generations ago V. O. Kliuchevsky published a far more substantial study of foreign accounts and their use as historical sources. Alpatov poorly uses the single good example of a European dealing with Russian history, Sigismund von Herberstein. He devotes more attention to Herberstein's observations of contemporary affairs than to his history of the country. The least superficial portions of the book are those in which Alpatov discusses the conversion of Russia to Christianity and the

Russian participation in the Council of Ferrara-Florence. Overall, the work does not advance our knowledge of Russo-Western relations before Peter the Great, nor does the author succeed in demonstrating that the Russians were especially conscious of a Western historical legacy and destiny.

THOMAS ESPER

Case Western Reserve University

A. P. OKLADNIKOV *et al.*, editors. *Voprosy istorii Sibiri dosovetskogo perioda* [Questions about the History of Siberia in the Pre-Soviet Period]. (Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Sibirskoe Otdelenie, Institut Istorii, Filologii i Filosofii.) Novosibirsk: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1973. Pp. 462.

P. P. SILINSKII *et al.*, editors. *Voprosy istorii Sibiri* [Questions on the History of Siberia]. (*Uchenyi Zapiski*, number 4, part 1.) Irkutsk: Geograficheskoe Obshchestvo SSSR, Vostochno-Sibirskii Otdel, Irkutskii Oblastnoi Muzei Kraevedeniia. 1971. Pp. 171.

From a Western perspective, Siberian history has been significant chiefly as a variant within Russian history or as an example of exploration, frontier expansion, and settlement in a world historical context. Beyond this, Siberia until recently has remained a relative wasteland in the light of world history and culture. The two volumes under review, both dealing with issues in prerevolutionary Siberian history, offer little to alter the traditionally accepted view of Siberia's past.

For the most part, the essays comprising the two volumes represent a variety of Siberian topics that are regional or local in scale. The anthology of twenty-nine essays, published by the USSR Academy of Science's Siberian Section (Novosibirsk), focuses predominantly on western Siberia and on the Altai. The booklet put out by the USSR Geographical Society's East Siberian Section (Irkutsk), as a single issue of its scholarly periodical, contains twenty-one articles devoted chiefly to the Irkutsk-Lake Baikal area. In both volumes the only major theme common to most of the essays on modern history is the ever-present hand of the central government intervening in Siberian affairs. The outer world, as here presented, otherwise impinges on Siberia only when external crises—the Pugachev Rebellion, the War of 1812, the Russo-Japanese War, and the February Revolution—draw the distant region into their sway. Conversely, several of the essays have little or no connection with Siberia at all.

Other than the roughly chronological order of essays, topical coherence is lacking in both volumes. At best, about half the studies in the Geographical Society's booklet deal with archeology in eastern Siberia (from Neolithic times to the ninth century A.D.) and are thereby "prehistoric" in content. Modern Siberian history begins with essays on the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which form the bulk of the Academy of Science volume. Discussions of economic life, commercial relations, and migration patterns figure most frequently. Perhaps the most solid studies of all concern frontier and social mobility, by P. N. Pavlov and N. A. Minenko, and Siberian administration in the eighteenth century, by L. S. Rafienko and S. M. Troitsky. V. Alekseeva's investigation of Siberian butter cooperatives and their entry into the West European market, between 1912 and 1916, illuminates a little-known dimension of Siberian economic and social history. Cultural and intellectual developments are presented less often and less impressively. Assertions of Radishchev's impact on his Siberian contemporaries in the early 1790s and of the links of the Land and Liberty group with Siberian regionalists in the early 1860s fall short of even the minimum evidence needed to convince the reader.

Most of the essays are rather prosaic and lack a dynamic or personal ingredient. The editors provide neither introduction nor conclusion, and both volumes thus remain all the more impersonal and unintegrated. Of the thirty-four contributors, only one is identified—B. G. Kubalov, in an obituary article—and essays of a biographical nature are but a handful. In this context, B. M. Yurkin's study of Mikhail Zagoskin (1830–1904), a pioneering publicist and social reformer, stands out noticeably as a compelling portrait and a model of scholarship (Silinskii *et al.*, pp. 107–18).

The contributors draw from a wide variety of archival materials, prerevolutionary publications, and recent monographs; a dearth of source references from the Stalinist 1930s and 1940s is evident in all but the half-dozen discussions of Soviet historiography. Although many studies include brief background or historiographical sketches, there is a general reluctance to view questions of the modern period in the light of subsequent developments or in a broader, comparative perspective. On the other hand, the thorough, in-depth research reflected in so many of the essays, combined with a frequent tendency to defer definitive

conclusions until further information becomes available, is indeed commendable.

STEPHEN WATROUS
Sonoma State College

V. K. IATSUNSKII. *Sotsial'no-ekonomicheskaiia istoriia Rossii XVIII-XIX vv.: Izbrannye trudy* [The Socioeconomic History of Russia in the 18th and 19th Centuries: Collected Works]. (Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Institut Istorii SSSR.) Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1973. Pp. 300.

V. K. Iatsunskii (1893-1966) was one of the most prolific and generally well-regarded Soviet economic historians. His first publications on the history of the Russian national economy, transport, and economic geography appeared in the 1920s. He was still active forty years later, and his works now appear and reappear in anthologies and general methodological texts. Obviously, then, this new collection of his articles, all of which were first printed between the years 1952 and 1963, contains reasonably well-known and readily accessible material.

The book opens with a list of Iatsunskii's publications and works about him, which updates one that was published in 1962. Among the twelve articles are two studies of Lenin's theories about economic history. The remainder deal with various dimensions of industrial development in the Russian Empire during the nineteenth century. In spite of the book's title, the previous century is touched upon only in an indirect manner. If there is a chronological focal point it is the reign of Nicholas I, a time on which five of the articles concentrate. The keynote paper, and by far the longest, is Iatsunskii's oft-printed "Basic Stages in the Genesis of Capitalism in Russia" (1958), in which he traces the origins of capitalism in that country from the last decades of the eighteenth century. The essence of his position is the assumption that the freeing of serfs in 1861 marked a watershed in the history of capitalism in Russia because serf labor was counterproductive. He said, too, that capitalism was characteristic of only a few areas in the empire. In this essay and in a similar study on the evolution of agrarian capitalism (1959), Iatsunskii shows that capitalism in agriculture lagged far behind that in industry until well after 1861.

The latter article is the only one in the collection to represent Iatsunskii's many historical analyses of Russia's agricultural sector. Nor does the book contain any examples of his work on

the methodology of economic history or on historical geography. It will be of some use, however, to those interested in Russian socioeconomic history, for it brings together the major efforts of a recognized scholar in the field.

J. LAURENCE BLACK
Laurentian University

BARBARA JELAVICH. *St. Petersburg and Moscow: Tsarist and Soviet Foreign Policy, 1814-1974*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1974. Pp. xii, 480. Cloth \$12.50, paper \$4.95.

St. Petersburg and Moscow presents, in the words of the author, "a survey of tsarist and Soviet foreign policy from the Congress of Vienna, 1814, to 1974." The first part of the book, which comprises slightly more than sixty per cent of the total, is an exact reprint of Professor Jelavich's *A Century of Russian Foreign Policy* published a decade ago. It is unfortunate that in reissuing this portion of the present volume the author has not seen fit to respond to comments and recommendations of reviewers made soon after the publication of the original volume. The most important weaknesses of this section of the book, noted in the original reviews and with which I am in agreement, relate to Jelavich's almost exclusive emphasis on political, ideological, and military events to the virtual exclusion of economic concerns. In addition, the sections of the book dealing with the Balkans and tsarist relations with the Ottoman Empire greatly outweigh those concerning Russian policy in Asia and elsewhere in Europe.

In the slightly more than 150 pages devoted to more than half a century of Soviet foreign policy Jelavich has of necessity touched only on the "high points." This has resulted in a very superficial treatment of Soviet foreign policy that hardly provides a basic introduction to those totally uninitiated into the subject matter. For example, Jelavich refers to the establishment of political commissars attached to the military without any explanation of their role or the impact that they had on the Communist party's ability to control the military (p. 300). In addition, the treatment of Soviet relations with Eastern Europe completely ignores the establishment of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and the role that it has played in Soviet East European economic relations since the late 1950s.

Although Jelavich has produced a readable volume that provides an introduction to Russian

and Soviet foreign policies, it is difficult to determine for whom the volume has actually been written or what it adds to the existing literature in the field. Since the section dealing with tsarist policy had already been published and appears here without any addition or correction, the only new material relates to the Soviet period. The recent publication of Adam Ulam's detailed survey of Soviet diplomatic history as well as the much briefer treatment by Alvin Rubinstein in the introductory sections to his *Foreign Policy of the Soviet Union* (1966) seem to make *St. Petersburg and Moscow* superfluous.

ROGER E. KANET
University of Illinois,
Urbana-Champaign

G. P. EFREMTSEV. *Istoriia Kolomenskogo zavoda: Ocherk istorii Kolomenskogo teplovozostroitel'nogo zavoda imeni V. V. Kuibysheva za 110 let (1863-1973)* [History of the Kolomna Works: A Sketch of the History of the Kolomna Diesel-Electric Locomotive Building Works Named for V. V. Kuibyshev over 110 Years (1863-1973)]. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Mysl'" 1973. Pp. 351.

Russian and Soviet industrial growth has been led from the beginning by a relatively small number of very large plants—this is a history of one of them, the Kolomna machine-building works, seventy-five miles southeast of Moscow. It began in the 1860s by fabricating bridge iron, and soon took on construction of railroad freight cars and steam locomotives. Its designers and skilled workers have had over a century of experience adapting Western technology to Russian needs. By 1914 the works employed 10,500 people, turning out many types of railroad rolling stock and, in addition, diesel engines for river boats, pumps, and portable generators. More recently it has been a center for Soviet production of electric and diesel-electric locomotives, along with pumps for oil pipelines and other applications. Its people have been active in the labor movement and in party affairs.

Thus one finds here a mixture of technological, managerial, and political material. The book is something like a company history set forth from a union perspective. It presents scattered data on production, photographs of completed major products, scores of names and photographs of officials and leading workers, and eight pages of color photographs of shop interiors. The narrative sketches the early years of growth, the plant's revolutionary activities, its contributions to two wars and reconstruction

periods, and its subsequent record of continued expansion. The book celebrates 110 years of the plant's service.

In consulting archival sources, interviewing retired workers, and checking with plant officials, the author has made diligent use of primary material. His footnotes provide valuable leads to important archives that are increasingly being opened to foreign scholars. The last two chapters appear designed to spur workers to new achievements, but the first eight (262 pages) should interest economic historians concerned with general features of technological transfer, industrial management, labor problems, and affairs of the Moscow region.

HOLLAND HUNTER
Haverford College

Z. V. SMIRNOVA. *Sotsial'naiia filosofia A. I. Gertsena* [The Social Philosophy of A. I. Herzen]. (Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Institut Filosofii.) Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1973. Pp. 288.

In all of Soviet literature there is no thoroughgoing biography of Alexander Herzen. There is rather a body of writing, narrow in scope and selective in research, that is part of the attempt to establish a revolutionary tradition leading neatly and inevitably to October 1917. Written by an editor of Herzen's collected works, this study falls into that category of Soviet scholarship. While the title suggests an extensive analysis of Herzen's view of society, the author surveys only highlights of Herzen's intellectual development, concentrating on his socialist ideas. Accepting the Soviet assumption that there is one legitimate line of socialist development, Smirnova's thesis is that Herzen is a bridge between the utopian socialists and Marxists. The author tells us that Herzen had a grasp of the materialist view of history but that he did not understand the nature of the class struggle in effecting social change. Herzen was a complex figure, and the attempt to compress him into a halfway Marxist obscures the person we see through the available historical evidence. To view him some hundred years later strictly from the vantage point of the Russian Communist experience is to distort him on his own terms.

What emerges from the friction of ideologies can be productive and enlightening, but what we have here is a work that draws on Herzen's writings, discreetly culled to support the thesis, but relies on secondary sources without offering any original research. The author undertakes to probe questions she feels have been neglected,

but her topics are not new, and the result is a cursory review of the existing literature. This is not to suggest that many of her points are not valid, but it would seem that those not already persuaded will not be moved by her arguments. The book has little to offer the specialist, but it could be of some use to the general reader as an introduction to the Soviet view of Herzen's ideas.

BARBARA SCIACCHITANO
North Central College

IU. B. SOLOV'EV. *Samoderzhavie i dvorianstvo v kontse XIX veka* [Autocracy and Nobility at the End of the 19th Century]. (Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Institut Istorii SSSR, Leningradskoe Otdelenie.) Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1973. Pp. 382.

Iurii Solov'ev's monograph contributes an abundance of new information to the historical argument about the viability of the old regime in Russia. He amasses literally thousands of quotations from the diaries and other private writings of over one hundred of the highest imperial administrators, including almost all who held ministerial appointments and many others who influenced Alexander III and Nicholas II. With just a few exceptions, taken from published sources, his information comes from archival materials not used by earlier historians. The book is an entirely original contribution.

The record Solov'ev compiled yields the most dismal characterization to this date of high politics under Alexander III and Nicholas II. Every imperial weakness that Solov'ev emphasizes has been heard before, but never in such abundant detail from the persons who surrounded and served the last emperors. Although the author gives much attention to the imperial practice of first granting, then vitiating reforms, he focuses on the problems of the highest levels of the bureaucracy: the emperors' inability to construct a consistent program, the malicious infighting among the highest administrators, and, a point he emphasizes in excruciating detail, the ignorance of the ruling circles (with of course well-known exceptions, such as Witte) in the areas of economics, finance, and technology. They were equally ignorant about developments in Germany, Japan, and the United States.

The author's objective clearly was to marshal so much information on the main points of the argument that the case against the higher administration of the old regime would become plausible with only nominal authorial interven-

tion. Imperial high advisers reiterated the same critiques and complaints so often that the argument acquires an apparent conclusiveness. The political and administrative leaders of the old regime shared a deep, abiding malaise, a lack of confidence in their own policies and leadership. In brief, Solov'ev's is a substantial and valuable addition to the literature on the Russian government on the eve of the wars and revolutions.

Yet the reader will retain some doubts about the matter because the author mentions none of the rapidly expanding body of literature about the old regime. The only source other than the diaries and private papers of imperial bureaucrats that Solov'ev chose to cite were Lenin's contemporary critiques. Solov'ev's argument would have gained in plausibility, and the value of the book would be enhanced immeasurably, had he referred to the other literature on the topic and had he not appeared so determined to prove Lenin's, and no one else's, theses. On the other hand, Solov'ev reveals the striking identity between the analyses by Lenin and the critiques by the bureaucrats.

HAROLD A. MCFARLIN
Southern Illinois University

IVO J. LEDERER and WAYNE S. VUCINICH, editors. *The Soviet Union and the Middle East: The Post-World War II Era*. (Hoover Institution Publications 133.) Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University. 1974. Pp. xii, 302. \$9.95.

Who would have thought, when this manuscript was completed early in 1973, that when the book came off the press the Arabs would have inflicted significant military losses on the Israelis, that Arab oil producers would have shown so much solidarity that Americans would be lining up for gas in the winter dawn, and that a naturalized American-Jewish secretary of state would successfully negotiate a Middle East truce? Such has been the incoming tide of events that they have washed out to sea the scholarly judgments of even a year ago.

The chief value of this book is the historical perspective it provides on the present situation. The contributors have mastered the written records of the remoter past and have prepared useful chronologies of the more recent past. Although there is no Arab contributor, and no consideration of Soviet relations with the Palestinian Arabs, the tone of the book is impartial. The essay by Nadav Safran is a good example of this.

The organization of the book is geographical rather than topical. Professor Lederer writes of the events before 1947; John Campbell, of events from 1967 to 1970, leaving a gap, 1947-67, without general coverage. Instead, there are surveys of particular areas during this period: Turkey by George S. Harris, Iran by Firuz Kazemzadeh, North Africa by John Waterbury, Egypt by P. J. Vatikiotis, Lebanon-Syria-Jordan by Harry N. Howard, and Israel by Nadav Safran. Finally, there is an essay by Professor Vucinich on Soviet Middle Eastern studies from which we learn that Soviet scholars have toned down their criticism of Islam since 1956 and have attempted to woo the Turks since 1964. Vucinich obviously delights in showing how political considerations influence scholarship, but his overall appraisal of Soviet work is fairly positive.

I miss a concluding chapter. Scholars do not seem to be eager to commit themselves as to what the Russians want to accomplish in the Middle East. I would have appreciated a chapter summarizing the influences of Middle East oil on international affairs. Also interesting would be a chapter weighing Soviet military and economic investments in the Middle East against American military and economic investments, and the resulting gains and losses for both. In short, what we have here is a collection of well-researched individual papers without an overall thesis.

MARY KILBOURNE MATOSSIAN
University of Maryland,
College Park

O. M. PONOMAR'OV. *Rozvytok kapitalistychnykh vidnosyn u promyslovosti Ukraïny XVIII st.* [The Development of Capitalist Relations in Ukrainian Industry in the 18th Century]. Lvov: Vydavnytstvo L'vivskoho Universytetu. 1971. Pp. 181.

The purpose of Ponomar'ov's monograph is to investigate the origins of capitalism in eighteenth-century Ukrainian economy. Geographically, the study is limited to the "left bank," that is, to Ukrainian lands east of the Dnieper. The left-bank Ukraine belonged to the Russian Empire—in contrast to the Polish-ruled right bank—though it preserved through most of the century an indigenous Cossack system of administration. Some large-scale manufacturing already existed in the Ukraine at that time. But the few big factories were owned by the state or great land-

lords, used servile labor, were technologically backward, and worked mostly for government needs, such as the production of gunpowder or textiles for army uniforms. According to Ponomar'ov, small- and medium-size manufacturing enterprises, heretofore neglected by economic historians, were more important for the growth of capitalist relations.

The author discusses the following categories of enterprises: ironworks, paper mills, distilleries, glassworks, saltpeter works, potash and tar plants, brickyards, and lime works. He attempts to answer separately for each branch of industry, as fully as the sources allow, questions concerning the numbers and the location of the factories, technical equipment and methods of production, volume and quality of the output, ownership and management, numerical strength and composition of the labor force, and the connections of the industries with the market. The owners and leaseholders (*orendari*) of these small and primitive factories originated from the Cossacks, burghers, and even peasant classes. According to Ponomar'ov, they represented an incipient "national bourgeoisie." At the opposite social pole, the landless, wage-earning laborers, employed in those enterprises, ought to be considered as the nucleus of an industrial proletariat.

Ponomar'ov's well-researched monograph, based on unpublished archival materials, is a notable contribution to Ukrainian economic history. Still, some of the author's assumptions and conclusions are open to question. Operating with a lineal concept of progress, Ponomar'ov glosses over the profound retrograde trend in the socioeconomic development of eighteenth-century Ukraine. The restoration of landlordism and serfdom—both temporarily overthrown by the mid-seventeenth century Cossack revolution—stifled the advancement of industry and delayed the establishment of a modern capitalist economy until the second half of the nineteenth century. Furthermore, Ukrainian manufacturing and trade were hampered by the tariff policies of the imperial government, which deliberately favored the central Russian provinces at the expense of the borderlands. Ponomar'ov's reluctance to discuss these phenomena is probably due to the fact that economic retrogression in the left-bank Ukraine resulted from the centralizing measures of St. Petersburg and the destruction of the country's national autonomy. Anything touching upon tsarist colonialism and its detrimental effects is taboo to Soviet Ukrainian historians. Thus the reader is presented with

a one-sided, distorted picture of the country's past.

IVAN L. RUDNYTSKY
University of Alberta

his subject matter, readers of this book will find it very enjoyable, moving, and informative.

WILSON B. BISHAI
Harvard University

NEAR EAST

ARTHUR STRATTON. *Sinan*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1972. Pp. 299. \$12.95.

Sinan, the man about whose life and achievements this book is written, was a slave-soldier who rose in skill and power to become the chief architect of Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent of the Ottoman Empire. This book is a biography of an architectural master who lived four centuries ago, but whose architectural masterpieces still stand in grandeur and beauty as a witness to the greatness of their builder.

The author does not claim to be a biographer or a historian. He started his academic life as an English teacher at Robert College in Istanbul. He then became a world traveler and writer. While in Istanbul, the author became very impressed, and understandably so, with the great architectural skill of the man who designed and built so many of the most famous and grand buildings and mosques. In this book, therefore, the author tries to portray Sinan's life and achievements in the historical context of the Ottoman Empire during the first half of the sixteenth century.

As such, the book is very valuable. It brings forth, rather dramatically, Sinan's early life as a robust and promising young man in his home town of Aghirnas, a village of Greek Orthodox Christians located in the middle of the Anatolian plateau. He was not destined, however, to grow up with his family and kin, for he was taken away from them as a slave-soldier by the Ottoman Janissary collector, whose job was to draft such young men from Ottoman occupied territories to serve the sultan in Istanbul. When he died in 1588, Sinan was ninety-nine years old. His intelligence and skill had helped him surmount many difficulties as a Janissary to become the sultan's chief architect.

The book touches upon several historical episodes associated with the life and work of Sinan. Since those episodes are rather scattered and dramatized, readers interested in the history of the Ottoman Empire during that period are advised to use such materials with great caution.

Because of the author's literary talents and his great interest in the humanistic aspects of

AFRICA

DAVID P. HENIGE. *The Chronology of Oral Tradition: Quest for a Chimera*. (Oxford Studies in African Affairs.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1974. Pp. x, 265. \$15.25.

Oral tradition is no longer suspect as a legitimate historical document. Indeed, anyone writing African history these days without full utilization of oral data may find the product seriously truncated.

Dr. Henige recognizes this and observes that "the body of oral tradition, real and potential, presents, together with archaeology and linguistics, nearly all the historian of sub-Saharan Africa has to work with in his effort to understand the more remote past" (pp. 2-3). But the legitimacy of oral tradition is not the primary concern of the book; rather the author attempts to analyze the chronological weaknesses, limitations, and other diverse problems inherent in traditional histories. In essence, the book may appropriately be said to deal with source criticism. Regardless of the difficulties scholars encounter in using oral tradition, Dr. Henige warns, as Philip Curtin did before him, against the danger of rejecting any oral traditions simply because of the limitations of the data. Instead he rightly recommends that the historian or the anthropologist should "work and rework them with an increasing sophistication and critical sense."

I found Dr. Henige's book exceedingly useful and interesting, not only because of its rather global comparative approach, but more so because of his admirable adherence to the canons of historical criticism. Even though one may not necessarily agree with him on some interpretations, his penetrating scrutiny of accepted "facts" in the histories of centralized European, Middle Eastern, Asian, or African states makes the work a significant contribution to historical criticism. The various states the author treats for illustrative purposes seem to share common chronological problems: deliberate or unconscious distortions of evidence, dubious genealogical king-lists, telescoping of events, and the intrusive force of literacy on oral tradition. All of these problems are given considerable treatment in the book.

Finally, a few personal observations may be in order. Although the author demonstrates a masterful acquaintance with published sources, there is no indication that he has engaged in collecting and analyzing oral tradition even in Uganda or Ghana, whose recorded traditions he seems to know very well. Moreover, though he clearly set the parameters of his research, it might be said that the time has come for scholars to give equal attention to the traditions of noncentralized states regardless of the facility in working with centralized kingdoms.

FELIX K. EKECHI
Kent State University

J. F. A. AJAYI and MICHAEL CROWDER, editors. *History of West Africa*. Volume 1. New York: Columbia University Press. 1972. Pp. xiii, 568. Cloth \$20.00, paper \$7.50.

Here is a book that will both please and perplex. The first of a two volume history of West Africa (the second volume appeared in 1974), it is aimed at a university level audience of both students and teachers, offering a "lucid, scholarly and authoritative synthesis" of the subject at hand. Scholarly, the *History* most certainly is. Edited by two leading historians of West Africa, it offers a galaxy of authorities commenting on various aspects of its subject—well over five-hundred closely packed pages on such essentials as environmental factors and prehistory, the savanna and forest kingdoms, the Atlantic slave trade, and the organization of small-scale or stateless societies.

Without exception the contributing authors are pre-eminent in their chosen subjects. Many are West Africans attached to universities, chiefly in Nigeria; most have lived or worked in areas of West Africa for many years. More than that they offer, not digested syntheses of secondary works by others, but the results of their own research, frequently drawn from new or little used sources. The result is a wealth of fresh material as typified by Abdullahi Smith's analysis of the early principalities of the central Sudan, or Ivor Wilks's studies of the Mossi and Akan states.

All this takes the reader well beyond previous works in this field, but there are problems to be encountered as well. To begin with, as the editors readily admit, there are the usual gaps and duplications, the inconsistencies and contradictions implicit in a cooperative work of this sort. Perhaps they might have been reduced somewhat through more demanding editorial surveillance, although experience argues that such omnibus volumes invariably emerge with

characteristically patchy aspect. There is, moreover, the serious matter of style. Considering the potential audience, much of this book may prove to be heavy going. By and large, the contributors, preoccupied in their scholarship, make little concession to the lucidity claimed by the editors, and their prose tends to resemble some of the denser pages of, for example, the *Journal of African History*. Those readers not already at home with West African history may suffocate in the deluge of unfamiliar names and phrases or boggle at many of the more recondite analyses encountered. A good bibliography, preferably annotated, seems essential for a volume of this genre; the frequently cryptic system of footnotes offered instead is hardly an adequate substitute. These difficulties raise again the old question of value as drawn between multi-authored scholarly collections and those less authoritative but better articulated and integrated works produced by a single author. As one of the former, the *History of West Africa* bears the classic strengths and weaknesses of its kind.

ROBERT W. JULY
Hunter College,
City University of New York

DANIEL F. MCCALL and NORMAN R. BENNETT, editors. *Aspects of West African Islam*. (Boston University Papers on Africa, volume 5.) [Boston:] African Studies Center, Boston University. 1971. Pp. xiv, 234. \$5.00.

This work draws together twelve specialized studies, broadly ranging in time and space. Published in 1971, they indicate the state of inquiry in one of the most rapidly expanding fields of African history, namely, the impact of Islam upon society.

Three contributions reveal the importance of Islam through the medium of biography and tracts: Anne Pardo's comparative study of the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Songhai rulers, Sonni Ali and his successor, Askia al-Ḥājj Muhammad Ture; B. G. Martin's translation and examination of Muhammad Bello's "Fundamentals of Statecraft," in which Bello formulates political advice for 'Umar Dallāji, Katsina's first Fulani Amīr after the early nineteenth-century jihad in Hausaland; and Alfred Ger-teiny's exploration of the political philosophy of the fifty-year-old statesman, Moktar ould Dad-dah of the Islamic republic of Mauritania.

The process and pattern of Islamization are themes examined in two papers. Daniel McCall's view is that Islam facilitated trade, that traders carried Islam, and that economic com-

petition hastened its acceptance in the eleventh century in every major Sudanic state. Nehemia Levtzion attempts to design a model for the imposition upon the community of the religious standards of the *ulama*, in which jihad is viewed as crucially important for legitimating Islam at the state level, by the rulers, for the people. Richard Hull's perceptive case study of Katsina Amirate analyzes the inability of the leadership and the people to create peace and economic stability after the jihad conducted by "Uthmān dan Fodio and his followers.

The papers of Lucie Colvin, Louis Brenner, Joseph Smaldone, and Allan Meyers treat various aspects of economic history in the Central Sudan: long-distance trade and traders, the importation of firearms, and the securing and employment of slaves. Lucy Behrman examines interestingly the French attempt in Senegal to halt the spread of Islam by destroying the religious and political power of the Muslims and by encouraging the adaptation of French culture and language—a policy that largely failed. Finally, Lyndon Harries paints the anonymity of women in African Islamic literature, oral and written, from a regrettably meager data base.

The strongest papers are successfully analytic; others are too painstakingly descriptive, and the synthesizing attempts are perhaps premature. Nevertheless, these individual studies can be informative and useful to students of African, Islamic, and comparative history, and also to those exploring problems in economic, imperial, and military history.

PHYLLIS FERGUSON
Evanston, Illinois

LOUIS BRENNER. *The Shehus of Kukawa: A History of the Al-Kanemi Dynasty of Bornu*. (Oxford Studies in African Affairs.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1973. Pp. viii, 145. \$12.00.

At the opening of the nineteenth century the kingdom of Bornu was attacked by Fulani armies unleashed during the jihad of Uthman b. Fodiye in northern Nigeria. Penetrating deep into Bornu the Fulani spread terror and destruction, threatening to end the rule of the Saifawa dynasty that had claimed hegemony in the Lake Chad region for a thousand years. In desperation the Mai of Bornu called upon the remarkable and respected Muslim teacher, Muhammad Al-Amin al Kanemi, to defend the dynasty. Al-Kanemi's religious learning was

more than matched by his organizational and military abilities. He not only defeated the Fulani, but by his own acumen and the rewards bestowed upon him by a grateful Mai, Al-Kanemi had by 1820 emerged more powerful than the king. During his lifetime he always acknowledged the titular role of the Mai, but eight years after his death in 1837 his son and successor, Umar, ended Saifawa rule. Thereafter he and his successors ruled Bornu in name as well as in fact. Unfortunately Al-Kanemi's successors did not have his abilities. Wasting themselves on court intrigue and succession struggles, they were unable to defend Bornu from external threats. Political chaos was exacerbated by economic depression so that when the freebooter Rabeh Zubayr invaded Bornu in 1893 he destroyed the capital, Kukawa, as well as the dynasty of Al-Kanemi.

Compared to other African states the sources about nineteenth-century Bornu are rich—European travelers' accounts, Arabic manuscripts, British colonial reports, and oral tradition. The author has utilized them all with meticulous discrimination and judicious perception. He demonstrates a firm command of the written materials, which he corroborates and enlarges with oral testimony. The product is a succinct synthesis. This is an important and useful contribution and not devoid of analysis. The author cautiously examines the frequently contradictory data to describe client-patron relationships, which controlled society in Bornu, the role of the free and the servile, and the complex administrative system. His chapter on the free and the servile is one of the most sophisticated descriptions of the institution of slavery in an African society, while his analysis of the court and the interaction of the Shehus and their principal officials is a sensitive account of more subtle relationships. His understanding of the internal dynamics of Kanuri society relies upon oral traditions. Much of African history is dependent upon such oral sources, and their use is widely acknowledged as fundamental to unraveling the African past. The author is no exception, and many of his significant and original contributions depend upon "field notes." However, frequent footnote references to only "field notes" make it impossible for the reader to seek out the original source. The author should have compiled his own internal scheme of references for the oral material he has collected, not only for other scholars who might wish to use his materials but for his own future use when memory fades and time obscures his informants' information.

This book is another solid monograph in the ongoing reconstruction of the African past.

ROBERT O. COLLINS
University of California,
Santa Barbara

ANTHONY SILLERY. *Botswana: A Short Political History*. (Studies in African History, 8.) London: Methuen and Company; distrib. by Barnes and Noble, New York, 1974. Pp. x, 219. Cloth \$8.75, paper \$5.50.

As the author of four previous books on the Bechuanaland Protectorate (1952, 1965), the Kwenā chief Sechele (1954), and the missionary John Mackenzie of the London Missionary Society (1971), Dr. Sillery has unquestionable credentials for writing a short political history of the Tswana from early European contact to their independent republic. Dr. Sillery's own attitudes are clearly stated and are shaped perhaps by his own quarter century of colonial service, including the post of resident commissioner of the Bechuanaland Protectorate from 1947 to 1950. He has a sympathetic appreciation of the Tswana past; he has done scholarly research on the founding of the protectorate, and he has firsthand knowledge of its colonial administration. Not only does he give a clear analysis of events and a careful description of the constitutional ambiguities involved in the founding of the protectorate, he also provides a narrative that emphasizes the human and dramatic elements involved. His appreciation of the past includes respect for the traditions of aristocratic African society and treasury-bound colonial administrations, pointing out their shortcomings as well. Dr. Sillery acknowledges the lack of emphasis on economic development and social services before World War II, but he believes that the European interference, which the protectorate government represented, was crucial to Tswana survival. Tswana retained a political identity lost to that part of the group absorbed as British Bechuanaland into the Cape Colony.

The book is an excellent introduction to an area that has played a significant role in the internal and international politics of southern Africa since the mid-nineteenth century. Its history constitutes a striking example of modern African imperialism in terms of Boer-Briton-Bantu struggles and colonial administrative attitudes. On "the road to the North" for both evangelical and political advance by competing *Englishmen and Afrikaners*, including Cecil Rhodes and Paul Kruger, the Tswana became inextricably involved. Emerging in the twentieth century as a self-governing African

republic, Botswana remains economically dependent on the Union of South Africa. The advantages and liabilities it brings to that relationship as a result of eighty years as a British protectorate can be assessed from Dr. Sillery's able survey.

DOROTHY O. HELLY
Hunter College,
City University of New York

ASIA AND THE EAST

JONATHAN D. SPENCE. *Emperor of China: Self-Portrait of K'ang-hsi*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1974. Pp. xxv, 217, viii. \$8.95.

This elegant book brings vividly to life the second emperor of the Manchu Ch'ing dynasty, a forcible and capable ruler and strikingly original character who reigned from 1662 to 1722. It consists largely of translations and paraphrases of the emperor's own words, with some additional material written as if it had been written by the emperor. This bold stylistic experiment is largely successful, and often deeply moving, as when K'ang-hsi describes the excitement of war and the hunt, the beauties of forest and steppe, the aggravations of old age and declining powers, the bitter grief of an heir gone bad and finally deposed. In some places, a few more explanatory footnotes would have been advisable. This book should and surely will attract many readers who are not specialists, who will not catch such interesting details as the emperor's strikingly un-Chinese diet (p. 98) and his drawing—sometimes in very conventional terms—on great Chinese traditions of contemplation and personal and political morality (pp. 106, 138, 143-45). By contrast, the fascinating and surprising section on his knowledge of Chinese medicine and pharmacology is well annotated (pp. 95-102).

In the important chapter entitled "Ruling" there are somewhat more substantial difficulties. Out of the enormous quantity of edicts and other documents approved by the emperor and issued in his name, Spence has chosen passages in which the emperor seems to be expressing his own thoughts in his own style. This distorts the picture of his actual work of ruling by slighting the vast amount of time and effort he devoted to monitoring and fine-tuning the intricate bureaucratic systems, and especially to the careful weighing of the qualifications of candidates for important positions. A few more passages showing him dealing with such problems, although less clearly "personal," would have given a better-balanced picture of the work of the ruler.

One of K'ang-hsi's most important contributions to Ch'ing rule may have been his resistance to the sycophantic reports of favorable omens that streamed in to every emperor, his confirmation by precept and example of a secularized, conscientious, result-oriented ethic that had been important in the bureaucracy for centuries but had had little effect on the throne since the early 1400s. Like many Chinese scholars of his time, he found much to support this ethic in the *I-ching*. His skepticism about Chinese cosmology and omen lore was strengthened by his own foreignness and by his long study with the Jesuits of Western astronomy and mathematics. All this is marvelously clear in Spence and highlighted by the "autobiographical" method. But if we want to understand K'ang-hsi's other personal contributions to the great achievements of the early Ch'ing, this method offers formidable obstacles. We see the emperor from the inside, not the outside. We suspect that his constant attention to detail, his skillful use of the palace memorial system, his blunt little lectures to officials demonstrating how much more he knew than they wanted him to know, must have done much to keep their reports full and honest, but we cannot weigh the evidence. We see little of the effects of his actions on the central government, and less on the provincial. The crucial role of the Rebellion of the Three Feudatories in his growth as a ruler and his consolidation of power is shown, but there is almost nothing about his dramatic seizure of power from his regents or the great changes in politics and policy he made at that time—at the age of fifteen!

K'ang-hsi had a vivid and concrete way of expressing himself, admirably reflected in Spence's terse and informal style. Most of this book is taken from sources that have long been readily available but have never before been intelligently exploited. It also draws on some little-known and surprising sources, and its bibliography and notes will be indispensable to scholars in the field.

JOHN E. WILLS, JR.
University of Southern California

S. R. MEHROTRA. *The Emergence of the Indian National Congress*. New York: Barnes and Noble, 1971. Pp. vi, 461. \$22.50.

GORDON JOHNSON. *Provincial Politics and Indian Nationalism: Bombay and the Indian National Congress, 1880 to 1915*. (Cambridge South Asian Studies.) New York: Cambridge University Press, 1973. Pp. viii, 207. \$19.50.

It is only within the past decade that a sub-

stantial body of critical literature has begun to be published on the subject of the origins and development of the Indian nationalist movement. Prior to the publication of Anil Seal's book, *The Emergence of Indian Nationalism* (1968), there had been a number of general and often simplistic statements made but little or nothing that combined a detailed study of the source material with a rigorous analysis of its contents. Indeed, until the late 1960s, professional historians were still groping to find a way into the study of the nationalist phenomenon that would go beyond a string of names and dates or a reiteration of stale rhetoric. That scholarly involvement in what is clearly one of the most important components of modern Indian history should have been postponed for so long—and that it is even now dominated by scholars from the United Kingdom—will surely baffle future historians of the subcontinent.

Both books under review make substantial contributions to our understanding of the origins of the nationalist movement. Mehrotra's work is a large-scale attempt to draw together many separate strands and is based upon an extensive study of the archives and of the numerous nineteenth-century Indian monographs published since 1947. In the main, his book supports Seal's overall contention that the origins of what is usually regarded as the first overt evidence of institutionalized nationalism, the 1885 Indian National Congress in Bombay, were very diverse. Far from being a sudden manifestation of that spirit which some observers termed "The New India," these political stirrings of the late 1880s and 1890s were the consequence of a long and complicated process of gestation. Moreover, both Mehrotra and Johnson, by implication, tend to confirm what a number of students of this period have often felt but rarely propounded with much success: that the relationship between the first generation of Congress politicians (and some later generations too) and British officialdom—which, it can be argued, retained a fairly firm grasp on the helm at least down to the Second World War—was a curiously symbiotic one. Each side seems to have used the other as a sounding board to help determine what it perceived to be its strategy of encounter, and thus ensured that the course of the Indian nationalist movement would be not so much a history of resistance and revolt as one of a protracted dialogue. It was a dialogue in which those seeking independence—almost all of whom were barristers trained in the technicalities of the English law and the British con-

stitution—carried out a verbal war of attrition against opponents who were already emasculated by the impending crisis of conscience shared by their class and country. Mehrotra's carefully researched narrative of the mid-nineteenth-century stirrings, which led to the founding of the Congress, clearly reveals the kind of politics that enabled Indian leaders to win independence in the way they did, and in little more than half a century after that modest gathering of 1885.

Johnson's study, elegantly written and skillfully put together, approaches the subject from a quite different direction. This is an absorbing book. It is close enough to the author's research for his dissertation to convey all the intimacy with the source material expected from someone saturated in the literature of the period and yet far enough away to demonstrate subsequent reflection and revision. Unlike Mehrotra or Seal, Johnson has chosen a relatively small canvas and has worked over it inch by inch. Out of it emerges a somewhat different picture from the traditional portraits, of the nationalist leaders of western India at the turn of the century. It is a picture of much greater interest because it shows them to have been both more calculating and more professional in their political style than has hitherto been assumed. They were concerned at least as much with local issues and with maintaining their local bases of power as they were with national programs and the evolution of an overarching ideology. This is a monograph of great significance for understanding the nature of Indian nationalism prior to the First World War. It is unlikely that future research can be done in this same period without constant reference to it.

GAVIN R. G. HAMBLEY
Yale University

A. JEYARATNAM WILSON. *Politics in Sri Lanka, 1947-1973*. New York: St. Martin's Press. 1974. Pp. xiv, 347. \$18.95.

This is the first study of Sri Lanka to offer both the insights and to approach the scope of W. Howard Wriggins's *Ceylon: Dilemmas of a New Nation* (1960). While each section of the book is framed in a historical setting, politics is central. Structure, parties, and process are examined in the light of the forces of communalism, socioeconomic change, international relationships, and the trauma of recent civil insurgency. There is a lucid analysis of the 1972 Republican Constitution.

Professor Wilson points out that Ceylon,

prosperous at independence, has suffered economic decline because of an unfavorable balance between population growth and gross national product. A continuing effort to stem growing social discontent led to heavy food subsidies and free education and health services. Successive governments could neither afford these worthy programs nor could they risk terminating them. A spiral of interacting negative forces, augmented by global inflation, has culminated in a profound economic crisis, which was a major cause of the island-wide armed insurgency of frustrated youth in 1971.

Despite these troubles, civilian rule and political democracy have survived in Sri Lanka. Though every government since 1956 has been denied a second term, the five transfers of power have been peaceful and according to law. The author sees two types of political programs being advanced: modern development via socialism or democracy proposed by the Westernized elites and a reassertion of primordial and precolonial tradition, sought by Sinhalese nationalists. The major parties when in crisis tend to exploit the latter, an acknowledgment of the imperative of numbers. But their policies have also been moderated by Buddhist traditions of tolerance and by a now-fading heritage of British consensus politics.

Sri Lanka's international posture has seen-sawed between the NATO nations and the Communist powers. But tea still pulls toward London and the Rice-Rubber Pact with the People's Republic of China exerts an opposite force. Urgent, chronic foreign-credit needs preclude a major realignment in any direction.

Comprehensive, objective, and stylish, this work maintains the high standard of Ceylonese scholarship. The author's political preferences surface occasionally, but there is not a hint of communal partisanship. This is a rich source for historians and social scientists.

CHARLES S. BLACKTON
Colgate University

F. S. V. DONNISON. *Burma*. (Nations of the Modern World.) New York: Praeger Publishers. 1970. Pp. 263. \$8.00.

CHARLES LEE KEETON 3RD. *King Thebaw and the Ecological Rape of Burma: The Political and Commercial Struggle between British India and French Indo-China in Burma, 1878-1886*. Foreword by JOHN F. CADY. [Delhi:] Manohar Book Service; distrib. by South Asia Books, Columbia, Mo. 1974. Pp. xii, 436, 1 map. \$16.00.

But for the shameful parsimony of this journal in allocating space for Asian reviews, these two

books probably would have been treated separately. Though they share a superficial resemblance in both dealing with Burma, they differ markedly in approach, intended audience, time span, and manner of presentation. Still, when viewed together, both works reveal a common problem facing the field of contemporary Burmese historiography: Prime Minister Ne Win's refusal to allow scholars to remain in Burma for research has discouraged new work in the field and led to an excessive reliance on colonial documents, many of them biased. Each of the two books demonstrates the dilemma in a different way.

F. S. V. Donnison's *Burma* is intended to be a reader's first contact with that country. Part of the Praeger series Nations of the Modern World, the book aims at broad coverage; hence the historical portion takes in the whole of man's time in the hills and river valleys that make up the country, from the earliest migrations to the current military regime. Additionally, considerable space is devoted to such special contemporary topics as economics, foreign affairs, public administration, religion, and art. Donnison writes crisply and has an easy-going style designed to attract the beginner to his subject. And, although he adopts a rather traditional narrative approach, he avoids becoming tedious by carefully selecting his details and including attractive and pertinent illustrative materials. The work clearly reflects the author, a thoughtful, long-time member of the Indian Civil Service in Burma who liked his job and his charges. Herein, too, lies its major fault—it is extremely Anglocentric. Given the space limitations of the book, it seems unreasonable to devote a whole chapter to the British colonial administrative system, while treating so swiftly such important events in indigenous history as the Saya San rebellion and the English attack on Burmese Buddhism. Furthermore, given the contrary testimony of his fellow colonial servants, J. S. Furnivall (*Colonial Policy and Practice* [1948]) and George Orwell (*Burmese Days* [1934]), it is difficult to substantiate the author's position summed up in the following quotation: "In their heart of hearts the Burmese know, despite the continuing propaganda about 'imperialists', 'colonialists', and 'expansionists', that Britain treated Burma not ungenerously" (p. 237).

Indeed Donnison would have found much to question his view in Keeton's work, *King Thebaw and the Ecological Rape of Burma*, which takes in the crucial years from 1878 to 1886 when the British completed their sub-

jugation of the Burmese people. Here is a thoroughly researched study designed for the scholar well acquainted with the country and its historical literature. Keeton has combed voluminous papers, public and private, as well as massive amounts of printed materials to support his conclusion that fear of French presence on India's eastern side prompted the annexation of Upper Burma. Though the position is not entirely original, Keeton has given it new credence with his extensive employment of the sources. He constructs his narrative, mostly chronological, out of detailed (oh so detailed!) analyses of the correspondence of key colonial officials, implicating both British and Burmese in the sad events that unfolded. The story is an important and dramatic one, unfortunately told badly. Keeton obviously had bad editorial advice and has published his dissertation without needed revisions. A good critic would have recommended many deletions and the addition of interpretive passages to give his findings context. The section on ecological causes of the conflict, the most original part of the study, gets buried by the attention paid to more familiar diplomatic and political matters. Greater access to Burma and its physical realities might well have encouraged Keeton to rely less on British archival materials and to alter somewhat his focus and his interpretation of the Burmese. The book has merit but could have had more.

The study of Burma's history has languished outside the country since Ne Win closed its borders to scholars in the 1960s. Confronted with the impossibility of doing local research, most young students have turned elsewhere, and the kind of advances based on field work that have occurred in, say Indonesian and Philippine history, have missed Burma. Burmese history has been left to those whose vision predates the modern changes in Southeast Asian historiography and those satisfied to work in archives exclusively, without any direct acquaintance with the country and its people. Little wonder that the work which emerges is flawed. Only a new attitude from the government can alter this situation.

JOHN A. LARKIN

State University of New York,
Buffalo

C. M. H. CLARK. *A History of Australia*. Volume 3, *The Beginning of an Australian Civilization, 1824-1851*. [Carleton:] Melbourne University Press; distrib. by International Scholarly Book

Services, Portland, Ore. 1973. Pp. xv, 491. \$15.85.

The third volume of Manning Clark's projected quartet examines the diverse endeavors of Australians to nurture civilization in an inhospitable wilderness and fashion a distinctive cultural identity during the years when the influx of British settlers transformed convict communities into free immigrant societies and the rapid growth of sheep farming provided the economic foundation for the achievement of local self-government. At the heart of this account lies the physical and mental struggle of men to come to terms with a harsh continent, where material progress could be won only at the price of much human suffering and degradation. In the fight to establish social institutions and civilizing influences in an unreceptive soil, a swarm of adventurers, moralizers, radicals, parvenu landowners, wealthy pastoralists, and lesser folk with humbler ambitions squabbled over the kind of society and culture they wished to foster and energetically debated the respective merits of transplanted British and home-grown cultural values. Yet all shared an overriding fear that Australia would sink into unrelieved barbarism as the uncouth environment, the pursuit of vulgar materialism, and the moral evils of convictism seemed to breed a godless, brutish, and lawless race of men. Ironically, Clark concludes, this preoccupation with warding off the descent into eternal barbarism, coupled with the defeat of squatterdom, served only to ensure the stultifying triumph of bourgeois philistinism.

If the underlying themes and conclusions of the book are somber, even melancholy, their exposition is shot through with colorful episodes and vivid description. The immense variety of human nature is entertainingly portrayed in the innumerable thumbnail sketches of individuals, their foibles and vanities, their longings and resentments, with always a reference to the state of their soul. Professor Clark has a taste for graphic detail and an ear for the telling phrase. His method of composition is essentially one of reiteration, the incessant elaboration of certain central topics rather than the gradual unfolding of a variegated story. A carping critic might say that the book is not free from repetition, that whole paragraphs could be transposed unnoticed from one chapter to another, or that the evolving society under scrutiny seems a curiously static one. But the technique of presenting a series of vertical cross-sections rather than stressing a horizontal progression through time is well

sued to the purpose of delineating the character and capturing the mood of Australian society at a crucial moment of transition. Although the volume may not prove to be as controversial as its predecessors, it offers the rewardingly provocative, idiosyncratic reflections of a sensitive and imaginative historian.

PETER BURROUGHS
Dalhousie University

ALAN WARD. *A Show of Justice: Racial 'Amalgamation' in Nineteenth Century New Zealand*. [Toronto:] University of Toronto Press. 1974. Pp. xv, 382. \$15.00.

In the history of racial conflict arising from European expansion and settlement overseas, there are certainly unhappier tales than those coming from New Zealand. Though there were clashes between settler and Maori, there was no Blood River or Sand Creek Massacre such as marked the history of the United States, and the absence of such major tragedies has been the foundation for much of the New Zealand national myth about the happy tradition of Maori-Pakeha relations. Scholarship has recently done much, however, to dismember this myth and supplant it with more realistic and perceptive views. Professor Ward's book is an addition to the roster of publications shedding new light upon the racial conflict in New Zealand's history.

Alan Ward—not to be confused with Ian Wards who has recently published a book on the same subject under the sponsorship of the New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs—has worked substantially from the records of the Maori Affairs Department of the nineteenth-century New Zealand government. His endeavor is to show both the legal and administrative procedures affecting the Maoris that were adopted by the Pakeha government and to indicate the ideological bases of these procedures. The policies pursued were designed to bring the Maoris into a theoretical legal equality with the settlers, to impose upon them the English common law, and to force them from their tribal communalism in property rights into an individualism in land holdings that would make them more vulnerable to settler efforts to acquire their lands. For however much the settlers talked about conferring the advantages of European civilization upon the natives, the propelling power behind policy was land hunger.

The Maoris response to all this was ambivalent. The loss of lands and of cultural iden-

tity had to be balanced against their perception that there were advantages for them in European civilization. But their efforts to secure these gains without paying an excessive price were frequently frustrated by the racialism and ethnocentrism of the settlers, attitudes that fitted in admirably with their greed for the Maori lands.

Dr. Ward has written a thorough and tightly documented study, but unfortunately it is largely an administrative history of Maori-settler relations in which the leading personalities are for the most part one-dimensional. The study is too closely detailed for any but the specialists, and the plethora of Maori names combined with the author's rather turgid style make for heavy going.

DONALD G. GORDON
University of Maryland,
College Park

UNITED STATES

GARY B. NASH. *Red, White, and Black: The Peoples of Early America*. (Prentice-Hall History of the American People Series.) Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1974. Pp. xvii, 350. Cloth \$9.95, paper \$5.95.

As an advance reviewer of this book points out, we have badly needed a new synthesis or joint history of the three ethnic groups who came together in North America after 1600. Gary Nash fills this need admirably in many respects. His frame is eastern North America from about 1600 to the eve of the Revolution, with background and comparative trips to Europe, Africa, and Latin America. He devotes over half of his pages to the Indians and Indian-white relations from Canada to Florida, chiefly in chronological narrative form. About a quarter is given to the Africans and slavery from Massachusetts to Carolina. The remainder concerns European overseas expansion and the cultural evolution of the English colonies. Among the subjects well handled are the increasing disparity of wealth among the colonists, the recent literature comparing Latin American and Caribbean slavery with that in North America, and racial mixing. All of this is based on a wide reading of ethnological and historical literature.

One of the author's central concerns is to avoid the ethnocentrism that measures every value by a European yardstick. As sometimes happens, this leads all too easily to a new imbalance, with the polarity reversed. We read of the achievements of Indian and African tech-

nology, political organization, diplomacy, warfare, artistic expression, family life, and economic enterprise without seeing, except by implication, the countervailing weaknesses or deficiencies that were just as crucial to the course of history. Aztec engineering and Iroquois political union—which is overstated a bit—are not balanced with the facts or consequences of their lacking the wheel or a written language. Two centuries of interracial strife and cruelty are unremittingly laid at the white man's doorstep. Although Negro slavery and wholesale Indian destruction would not have occurred in the New World if Europeans had stayed at home, the record shows a plenitude—so far as the red and white are concerned—of mutual aggression, cupidity, and ethnic conceit.

Despite this sizable caveat, most of the narrative and conclusions are as firmly grounded as recent scholarship will allow. On the whole, Nash has provided a detailed, thoughtful, lucid, and well-written survey of a large and tangled field. The book is well adapted for academic use as well as general reading, and a paperback edition ought to follow.

ALLEN W. TRELEASE
University of North Carolina,
Greensboro

W. EUGENE HOLLON. *Frontier Violence: Another Look*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1974. Pp. xii, 279. \$7.95.

In this volume Professor Hollon has taken a long, shrewd look at violence and ruthlessness, which were constant characteristics in early American life, and it is his thesis that violence on the frontier was the result of violence in our country's settled areas. The author carefully states his case that violence, to sustain survival, began with Jamestown and Plymouth and became more deeply ingrained in American life with each passing decade.

Dominant groups tended to use violence against minority groups: Indians, blacks, Mexicans, Chinese, Japanese, foreigners in general, and religious groups. For those who are aware of the violence in America's past, Dr. Hollon's book sharpens that awareness. Should the reader be unfamiliar with the violence of our early society, he will be astounded and shocked at its prevalence. The origin of the phrase "not a Chinaman's chance" could come only from violence inflicted upon a minority group by a dominant society.

Our European ancestors settled and roamed a relatively uninhabited continent filled with

game. The gun became their tool and weapon. With it, each individual attained a unique freedom and tended to become a "law unto himself." Various authorities have attempted to explain the resulting gun culture of today. Possibly these authorities overlooked the answer basic to each generation. Many years ago an old Montanan, who had been in General Terry's command at the time of Custer's massacre, expressed an answer when he told me, "A man's gun was his right to live. Without it, he was a goner!" Americans still like to be laws unto themselves, and nobody wants to be a goner.

Dr. Hollon has produced a very scholarly, fascinating, and readable book. He has not pulled punches and has followed the current mandate to "tell it like it is." He has more than justified his thesis that lawlessness on the frontier was the result of violence in the settled areas. The volume is extremely factual, very objective, and is adequately footnoted. The bibliography is unimpeachable and includes outstanding sources that are comprehensive in scope. Professor Hollon's thesis as he presents it is on ground as solid as was the Turner thesis when it was first presented.

WILLIAM D. MINER
Eastern Illinois University

EVERETT EMERSON, editor. *Major Writers of Early American Literature*. [Madison:] University of Wisconsin Press. 1972. Pp. 301. \$12.50.

During the past few years there has been a vigorous upsurge of interest in American literature of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The thesis that the writers of this period were so much concerned with theology and politics that they did not have time for literature has given way to the theory that, within the limits of these concerns, there was a valid life of the imagination and a living literature. Everett Emerson has here assembled his star performers to demonstrate the validity of this new theory.

The attempt has been reasonably successful with the Puritan writers of Massachusetts (William Bradford, Ann Bradstreet, Edward Taylor, Cotton Mather, and Jonathan Edwards) because their life of the mind was hermetically sealed within the world of Puritan piety, which centered their emotional, intellectual, and esthetic experiences. According to Berkovich, the failure of Cotton Mather to achieve worldly self-fulfillment drove him into rhetoric, myth, imagination, and history where his impressive creative powers were realized in unique literary forms.

The essays on other Puritan writers, by sharing this approach, bring new understanding. To realize that Bradford's historiography and Taylor's metaphysical poetics were direct reflections of Puritan piety, and not feeble imitations of their British counterparts, gives them new meaning.

The attempt to give a similar validity to the writers of the Middle and Southern colonies largely fails because these essays have no similar core of integrity. These authors are linked together only by their success or failure in developing literary genres and modes in spite of, rather than because of, their political and economic concerns. William Byrd, Benjamin Franklin, Philip Freneau, and Charles Brockden Brown emerge from these studies as even more minor than they had seemed. Leary states the case most honestly when he finds that Freneau "has occupied a convenient place in literary history as a somewhat stunted native talent." Others of these essays do little more than review in some detail the imitative belles-lettres of Americans whose imaginations occasionally turned from the wilderness to the alluring English eighteenth-century literary garden of style and genre.

Emerson's superficial introduction does little to help because he ignores most of the basic research and critical interpretations of the recent intellectual history that has provided foundations for an understanding of both Puritan piety and Revolutionary nationalism as worlds of the imagination in which literary genius could refresh itself. Franklin is a major author, not because he wrote periodical essays and bagatelles, but because he, like Thomas Jefferson, Brockden Brown, and later James Fenimore Cooper and Edgar Allan Poe, probed the basic dilemma of political, social, and emotional man in an open-ended universe and gave expression in great documents to the new consciousness.

Even though the book falls far short of its claims to dramatic reappraisal of colonial authors, some of the essays in themselves are excellent, and the larger problem of the reinterpretation of colonial literature as a whole has at least been raised.

ROBERT E. SPILLER
University of Pennsylvania

HERMANN WELLENREUTHER. *Glaube und Politik in Pennsylvania, 1681-1776: Die Wandlungen der Obrigkeitsdoktrin und des Peace Testimony der Quäker*. (Kölner historische Abhandlungen, number 20.) Cologne: Böhlau Verlag. 1972. Pp. xx, 475. DM 78.

Among many analyses of the issues at stake in, and the consequences of, the Pennsylvania attempt to implement the peace teaching of the Sermon on the Mount in governing the pluralistic citizenry of one small unit within an empire whose very existence postulated the continued implementation of military power, this is one of the best. It is the author's thesis, and with this I would agree, that the Quakers' own concept of government was so similar to that of the empire itself that their "Holy Experiment" began with a basic inner contradiction that they never really understood. Hence the vicissitudinous concepts over the years of both peace testimony and political authority.

By gaining supremacy over governor and council the Quaker Assembly at an early date developed a technique (supplying funds for whose expenditure the Crown or its representatives were responsible) for warding off the disaster that their contradictory policy invited. By 1748, however, the claim of supremacy had been carried to the point where the Assembly openly asserted the prerogative and assumed the responsibility, as the true representatives of the citizenry, to control and provide for its total welfare and protection. Whether consciously or unconsciously, this declaration was a recognition by the political leadership of the inner contradiction of the Pennsylvania experiment, and with that recognition the support of government took precedence over the peace testimony.

With the issue drawn in this manner the spiritual leaders within the Society of Friends, also being forced to recognize the contradiction, chose the other alternative, giving the peace testimony precedence over support of government. The consequent movement for spiritual renewal within the Society brought a cleavage between religious and political leaders, resulting in shifting views with respect to both political authority and the peace testimony on the part of both sides. During the French and Indian War the religious leadership explicated its peace testimony by standing against both Crown and reorganized Assembly because it believed them to be violating the basic rights for which Pennsylvania had been founded. During the American Revolution, on the other hand, it did so by taking the side of the Loyalists in defense of the Crown when the latter was violating the rights of American citizens.

I would suggest that for a deeper understanding of the issues of the Pennsylvania experiment one more thing is needed: a penetrating theological-ethical analysis of what Jesus really meant by the Kingdom of God, followed by a further examination of the Quaker, and every

Christian, peace testimony in the light of that kingdom concept on which the Sermon on the Mount is based.

Minor matters: The author seems to overstate (p. 153n) the intention of this reviewer when I evaluated the contribution of John Woolman. Wellenreuther's judgment on the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting is perhaps too severe in calling its 1746 Epistle a "recht martialisch klingenden Brief" (p. 155). Is it my fault or the author's own fault that I found no treatment of the Quakers' use of the death penalty in criminal prosecution? Or of John Hanbury's detailed military strategy for General Braddock's campaign to Fort Duquesne in 1755?

GUY F. HERSHBERGER
Goshen College

PAUL BOYER and STEPHEN NISSENBAUM. *Salem Possessed: The Social Origins of Witchcraft*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1974. Pp. xxi, 231. \$10.00.

This is an "inner history" of Salem Village that aims to raise the events of 1692 from melodrama to tragedy. "The social order was being profoundly shaken by a superhuman force"; Cotton Mather and the villagers called it witchcraft, but the authors "have chosen to construe this force as emergent mercantile capitalism." In this tragic conflict, we are invited to sympathize with the waning Puritan order, to identify with bluff husbandmen on less arable western lands who were driven to the "archaic strategy" of witchcraft when their entrepreneurial dreams were thwarted. Their targets were the merchants of Boston and Salem Town and their village imitators who were taking cues from Restoration England instead of the Bible. Salem Village was the flashpoint because it was semiautonomous, neither integrated with Salem Town nor independent of it, and the minister, Samuel Parris, had a West Indies slave versed in voodoo and was a failed businessman who mingled his personal frustrations with those of the farmers.

A minor defect is the authors' failure to walk the last mile and provide data for the outlying towns. Analysis of at least one such town—perhaps Andover with forty-two witches—might have added something. Although the witch charges originated in the village, a majority of the accused lived on the periphery.

Also, in focusing so intently on the relationships of Salem Village, the reader may be lulled into assuming a monolithic urbanity among the mercantile classes outside. The magistrates, the most conspicuous representatives of the merchant class in 1692, do not seem to fit the para-

digm of tolerant other-directedness; some were witch baiters. As an examiner, the zealous John Hathorne presumed guilt at the start; William Stoughton pressured the jury into reversing a not-guilty verdict. They may have tried to rely on evidence they could see for themselves, but their conception of due process led to nineteen precipitous executions. No mass execution for witchcraft had occurred in England since Calvinists were supplanted at the Restoration. Maybe the magistrates, although harbingers of rationalistic individualism, could become impatient and irrational, not unlike villagers, when suddenly confronted with an extensive underworld of the occult. Should they not also receive some of our sympathy as print-oriented leaders, bedeviled by forces beyond their ken, namely the folk who had retained a wider range of sensory perceptions?

But these are small reservations about a large achievement. This book is progressive history at its very best, with brilliant insights, well-organized evidence, maps, and footnotes at the bottom of the page.

CEDRIC B. COWING
University of Hawaii

JOSEPH J. ELLIS. *The New England Mind in Transition: Samuel Johnson of Connecticut, 1696-1772*. (Yale Historical Publications: Miscellany, 98.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 1973. Pp. xii, 292. \$10.00.

This is the first scholarly biography of Samuel Johnson of Connecticut, colonial Anglican religious leader, author of the first philosophy textbook published in the colonies, and first president of King's College (Columbia University). Joseph Ellis uses Samuel Johnson as an intellectual barometer to measure cultural change in eighteenth-century New England. His thesis is that a more enlightened outlook emerged slowly and undramatically as the stimulus of the English Enlightenment and pressures within New England Puritanism challenged and partly modified ways of thinking shaped in the seventeenth century.

Samuel Johnson is Ellis's case in point as he traces Johnson's development from student days at Yale to imperial arguments over the establishment of an American episcopacy. Ellis argues that Johnson remained a philosophical son of Puritanism in spite of his overt alienation from New England culture. Although neither brilliant nor original, Johnson was especially sensitive to the intellectual issues of the day. The critical edge of his thought sprang from the

tension generated by his efforts to mediate between traditional religion and the "new learning" of the Enlightenment. The youthful Samuel Johnson awkwardly fused the Puritan *technologia* with Lockean and Newtonian elements to form "a hodgepodge of old and new ideas" that he did not fully understand. Later he more successfully molded Locke's ideas on education and his own religious and philosophical convictions into a coherent educational theory that he successfully applied in practice at King's College. Ellis finds the enduring influence of Johnson's Puritan heritage throughout his career as a missionary of the Church of England in Connecticut and philosophical disciple of George Berkeley. A voice of moderation in the religious controversies of the day, Johnson also appears as an educational innovator both in his days as Yale tutor and in his leadership of King's College.

As the author explains, this is an intellectual biography that focuses on the relationships and conflicts between ideas and not on the interplay between Johnson's personality and the ideas he espoused. Perry Miller has provided the interpretive framework within which Johnson and New England are examined; the major weaknesses of the study reflect the limitations of that familiar framework. It is a pleasure to have this useful and workmanlike book. Its author would be the first to agree that much more remains to be said about America's Samuel Johnson.

GERALD J. GOODWIN
University of Houston

MARCEL GIRAUD. *A History of French Louisiana. Volume 1, The Reign of Louis XIV, 1698-1715*. Translation by JOSEPH C. LAMBERT. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1974. Pp. xiii, 398. \$15.00.

MARSHALL SPRAGUE. *So Vast, So Beautiful a Land: Louisiana and the Purchase*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1974. Pp. xix, 396. \$12.50.

For me, the English edition of volume 1 of Giraud's *History of French Louisiana* reinforces the impression left by the French edition nearly twenty years ago: the French colonization of Louisiana, particularly during the first fifteen years of the eighteenth century, was certainly haphazard, if not entirely accidental. This conclusion is, indeed, the main thrust of Giraud's scholarly and definitive history of the early years of the Mississippi colony.

Relying almost entirely on manuscript sources in the Archives Nationales, Giraud carefully iso-

lates and evaluates the various episodes of the early colonial experience and then blends them into a masterful synthesis. Repeatedly returning to the theme that the first fifteen years of Louisiana's colonization were years of "stagnation and uncertainty," Giraud meticulously details the reasons for this condition, foremost among which, of course, was France's involvement in the War of the Spanish Succession. Giraud reveals, to a degree seldom achieved by authors of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century French histories, the seriousness of the economic crisis resulting from the wars of Louis XIV. The intensity of that crisis is no better demonstrated than by the fact that the mother country could not outfit a single supply ship for Louisiana (then having a population of fewer than 250) over a period of several years. Giraud then relates this overriding factor to other reasons for Louisiana's plight: for example, the colonial rivalry with Spain and England; the fraud, greed, and egoism of colonial administrators; the rivalry of religious orders; the lack of planning by government officials; and the attitudes of the colonial and metropolitan populations toward Louisiana. No one can read Giraud and fail to understand that French Louisiana in the early years of the eighteenth century tottered on the brink of disaster.

Professor Joseph Lambert's translation is especially skillful, particularly when one takes into consideration the problem of finding twentieth-century equivalents for eighteenth-century terms. Lambert's style, moreover, greatly enhances the readability of this outstanding work.

While Giraud's book reflects an intense and scholarly investigation and interpretation of archival materials relating to a fifteen-year segment of France's Louisiana experience, Marshall Sprague's *So Fast, So Beautiful a Land: Louisiana and the Purchase* incorporates a sweeping synthesis of the Louisiana story from the days of exploration to the momentous events surrounding the purchase. Sprague's account, dependent largely upon secondary sources and thus contributing little to the body of knowledge concerning colonial Louisiana, results in a fast-moving, popularly written rendition of Louisiana's beginnings. Moreover, for the reader already familiar with the rather well known events of French and Spanish activity along the Mississippi, Sprague's exposition of European activity west of the great river generates interest, as do the author's thumbnail biographies of the principals in this pageant from exploration to purchase.

Definitely designed for the popular market,

the book proves Sprague to be a master of historical synthesis.

GLENN R. CONRAD

University of Southwestern Louisiana

MARIA GENOINO CARAVAGLIOS. *The American Catholic Church and the Negro Problem in the XVIII-XIX Centuries*. Edited by ERNEST L. UNTERKOEFLER. [Rome: the author.] 1974. Pp. xv, 375. \$8.00.

Caravaglios sets out to describe the impact of the Catholic Church upon the institution of slavery and its aftermath, a commendable objective. There is considerable warrant for more study of the relationships between theological and ecclesiastical institutions and social and political realities. In particular, local patterns of diocesan response to slavery need exploration as do the attitudes of the Catholic laity in various regions. Much of the historiography has focused rather exclusively upon official pronouncements of the councils and hierarchy of the Church. The author's perspective is clear: she writes with religious commitment to the Catholic Church, with sympathy for the blacks of America, and with moral indignation at the very thought of human slavery.

Although well intentioned, Caravaglios fails to add significantly to existing knowledge. She is unable to utilize to advantage the strengths of her perspective in her research and writing. The first portion of the volume is a spotty treatment of the historical and theological background of slavery in the West from New Testament times until the middle of the nineteenth century. The second section describes the manner in which the American Catholic Church became implicated in the complexities of the problem by the silence of the leadership and their ready acceptance of the status quo. Here she has discovered a unique proposal by Bishop Lynch of Charleston to found an island sanctuary under a religious order for the cultivation of black Catholicism, one response to the Church's lack of success among the slaves. The third part of the book is a discussion of nineteenth-century attitudes toward slavery. It contains the kernel of a potentially significant contribution, namely, a sketch of the theological and diplomatic responses of the papacy to the American struggle over slavery based upon the archives of Italy.

The volume concludes with an appendix of 130 pages containing assorted documents. Unfortunately, the usefulness of the appendix is severely limited because the items have not been

edited and do not have headnotes to integrate them into the body of the study. In sum the promise of the book is unfulfilled.

STEPHEN J. STEIN
Indiana University,
Bloomington

JOHN C. RAINBOLT. *From Prescription to Persuasion: Manipulation of Eighteenth Century Virginia Economy*. (National University Publications, Series in American Studies.) Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press. 1974. Pp. viii, 218. \$8.95.

John Rainbolt's posthumous study is by his own design more in the nature of a provocative essay than an exhaustive treatment of his subject. Similarly it is more an examination of the relationship of economic policy to social and political development in late seventeenth-century Virginia than it is full-scale economic history. The policy with which the book is concerned is the pursuit of economic diversification by limitations on tobacco cultivation, encouragement of other products, and development of towns—in Rainbolt's judgment perhaps the single most influential force at work in the period.

At mid-century an emerging group of leaders, principally men who had recently arrived from England and who were close to Governor William Berkeley, fostered diversification in part to escape declining tobacco profits but also because they believed a more varied economy the best way to ensure a stable, hierarchical social and political order. They also regarded such a policy as mutually advantageous to colony and mother country, an opinion that the framers of Restoration imperial policy in England generally shared. The preferred method for achieving this end was "prescription," the use of the considerable power these men exercised under Berkeley to force costly programs on the general populace. The result, in Rainbolt's view, was Bacon's Rebellion.

In the aftermath of the uprising the policy entered a second phase. The home government now positively discouraged any economic pursuits in the Chesapeake other than tobacco cultivation. In the colony a new wave of leaders, largely Virginia-born, still pursued diversification, although they now thought in terms of provincial, not imperial, interest and sought to cultivate popular support by a new politics of persuasion. In the process, then, of the single-minded pursuit of an unrealistic and unattainable economic objective the understanding of

the imperial relationship, the character of politics, the shape of society, in short almost everything but the economy, had undergone fundamental alteration.

The author's analysis is in many instances persuasive, as, for example, the interpretation of Bacon's Rebellion, which has always seemed more than a matter of Indian policy but less than a turbulent, thoroughgoing social adjustment. Too, turning the political development of the colony around so that it runs from would-be oligarchy to something approaching small planter democracy is at least intriguing. Readers may, of course, also raise a few questions. Did the Virginia leadership in truth commit itself so consistently and wholeheartedly to diversification? Or, if so, did the period of infinitely more complex politics after 1676 more nearly represent the approaching demise of the policy of diversification than its entrance upon a second and influential phase? Such questions, however, only emphasize to what extent John Rainbolt has left us a thoughtful, suggestive book with insights enough to engage us for some time to come.

THAD W. TATE
Institute of Early American
History and Culture

LAWRENCE S. KAPLAN. *Colonies into Nation: American Diplomacy, 1763-1801*. (American Diplomatic History Series.) New York: Macmillan Company. 1972. Pp. xiii, 331. \$7.95.

Lawrence Kaplan's contribution to the Macmillan American Diplomatic History series is a useful synthesis of the current monographic literature dealing with diplomacy in the Revolutionary era. His book does not match Max Savelle's companion volume, *The Origins of American Diplomacy* (1967), in breadth or originality, but given the quality and quantity of the existing secondary literature, Kaplan's decision to survey the field rather than break new ground is probably a good one.

Following the lead of Michael Kammen, Kaplan emphasizes the importance of the colonial agents "as diplomatists in the making and breaking of the British Empire" (p. 312). As the constitutional conflict between America and England worsened, the colonial agents found it increasingly difficult to play the role of conciliators. Some, like Franklin and Arthur Lee, succeeded in keeping pace with their constituencies in America, but only at the price of losing their influence with Parliament and with British mer-

chants; others, like Richard Jackson and Edmund Burke, retained their influence in England but lost their support in America.

Kaplan's interpretation of the causes of the Revolution inevitably reflects his focus on the activities of English and American diplomats. His emphasis on the constitutional issues that divided America and England is no doubt a proper one given that focus, but it is nevertheless unfortunate that he did not incorporate the recent work of Bernard Bailyn into his discussion. Franklin and Lee were a part of the political culture of colonial America, and their view of the constitutional crisis was inevitably colored by assumptions they held in common with most other Americans; although presumably better adjusted to the realities of foreign affairs than their counterparts back home, they nevertheless were motivated by the same exaggerated belief in America's virtue and the same suspicion of the corruption of English politics.

Kaplan is probably at his best in his discussion of the diplomacy of the 1790s. He insists that the foreign policy issues of the early national period were too complex to be polarized around the figures of Jefferson and Hamilton, and he succeeds in demonstrating the independence and importance of men like John Jay, Gouverneur Morris, William Short, James Madison, John Adams, and not incidentally, George Washington. In particular, Kaplan's treatment of Jay's services as secretary of foreign affairs under the Confederation government and as envoy to England in 1794 avoids the partisanship that so often infects assessments of the diplomat from New York.

It is perhaps unfortunate that Kaplan has chosen to keep his footnotes at a bare minimum, but even this flaw is partially offset by an excellent bibliography. In sum, the book will serve as an excellent introduction to the diplomacy of the Revolutionary period.

RICHARD R. BEEMAN

University of Pennsylvania

JOHN W. JACKSON. *The Pennsylvania Navy, 1775-1781: The Defense of the Delaware*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 1974. Pp. xiv. 514. \$12.50.

Among the things we may reasonably expect from the writing of the bicentennial years should be solidly researched works that contribute to our knowledge of dimly lighted corners of the American Revolution. October and November 1777 witnessed some of the most dramatic battles of that conflict—Saratoga, Brandywine, Ger-

mantown, the defense of the Delaware River. Yet how many modern Americans have even heard of the latter event? It is John W. Jackson's intention to place the defense of the Delaware in proper perspective through examination of another underdeveloped topic, the Pennsylvania state navy. He concludes that the naval and land defenses cannot be separated as the defense of the river would be only as successful as the coordinated activities of the fleet, forts, and obstructions.

We can immediately sense something larger in Jackson's book than mere integration of the obscure work of local Pennsylvania historians and antiquarian military buffs. Here are the first tentative strands of what became later the hoary tradition of national defense until high-seas battlefleets, airpower, and American overseas expeditions shattered that tradition in our own century. Jackson points out that as early as 1775, in eleven colonies, maritime forces were mobilized at the behest of the Continental Congress. All the major American cities were seaports or river ports, and their survival, and perchance that of the Revolution itself, depended on keeping open trade channels against the blockade of the world's most powerful navy. This phenomenon, which Jackson treats purely from the Pennsylvania standpoint, continued to plague American naval planners and politicians well into the early decades of the twentieth century, with Great Britain the same bogeyman.

Jackson, former director of the Philadelphia Maritime Museum, shows how local history, as well as naval and military history, may be blended into the national picture. He adeptly maneuvers the reader through detailed engineering feats such as riverine *chevaux-de-frise*; he enumerates the maritime forces comprising rowed galleys, fire boats, and other guard craft; and he enflames our senses with the futile yet heroic deeds of land defenders in Forts Mifflin and Mercer. His story always contains larger elements from a Washington beset by manpower and matériel problems to the ever-present machinations of committees of safety and other worthies of the day. If the illustrations sometimes seem inadequate and the maps opaque, the appendixes are rich with details of ship rosters, pay scales and regulations of the state navy, and ordnance in the land forts. One hopes that such a book will lead to modern treatment of the other state navies of the Revolution.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN COOLING
*U.S. Army Military History
Research Collection*

Fundamental Testaments of the American Revolution: Papers Presented at the Second Symposium, May 10 and 11, 1973. (Library of Congress Symposia on the American Revolution.) Washington: Library of Congress. 1973. Pp. 119. \$3.50.

"A text out of context is a pretext," but twentieth-century Americans summon fundamental testaments of the American Revolution to support an infinite spectrum of modern political principles without regard for the circumstances under which the documents were written. The essential context for four Revolutionary texts is supplied by members of a symposium at the Library of Congress.

Bernard Bailyn opens with an appraisal of Thomas Paine's *Common Sense*, "the most brilliant pamphlet written during the American Revolution." Though his logic was sometimes faulty, Paine's prose was always compelling. When the colonists were thinking of accommodation with England, he "sparked into flame resentments" that made Americans eager for independence. Cecelia M. Kenyon on a broad canvas paints a backdrop for the Declaration of Independence. As "the interplay of old and new ideas current in 18th-century America" highlights the "diverse and conflicting interests in society," it becomes clear the truths enumerated by Jefferson are not really "self-evident." Merrill Jensen points out that the Articles of Confederation were written by "men who believed in the sovereignty of the states." The adoption of this first constitution of the United States was delayed by "disagreements over representation, sharing of expenses, and control of the west." This federal union of sovereign states became a stepping stone to national government. Richard B. Morris demonstrates that the Treaty of Paris of 1783 is more important than is generally realized. The peace was a triumph for the American negotiators, who found their ally France and her partner Spain far more obdurate than their enemy England. The treaty established the United States as a nation among nations. A graceful essay on the fundamental testaments today by James Russell Wiggins closes the book.

Each author makes a contribution to a deepened understanding of our heritage, but the book's chief value is perhaps implicit rather than explicit. It challenges scholars to reread the fundamental testaments of the American Revolution.

WILLIAM M. E. RACHAL
Virginia Historical Society

THOMAS D. MORRIS. *Free Men All: The Personal Liberty Laws of the North, 1780-1861.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1974. Pp. xii, 253. \$12.50.

According to Morris, the absence of a direct attack on slavery in the South was due to the American Constitutional system itself, which prevented any direct federal legislative measures to overthrow the institution. As long as people worked within the existing constitutional framework, there was relatively little that could be done at the national level to eradicate chattel slavery in the states.

The author's focus is on the idealism of anti-slavery supporters, who translated into law the presumption that all persons are born free and cannot be deprived of that freedom except by due process of law, even though they might be slaves. Through their efforts, personal-liberty laws were enacted to provide freedom for a few fugitive slaves in the North as a moderate alternative to the slave codes of the South and to the view that abolition required a destruction of the legal system itself.

Morris traces the legislative programs for eliminating slavery, for protecting free blacks from kidnapping and forcible enslavement, and for employing the common-law guarantees of liberty to vindicate the legal presumption of freedom in five representative states, Pennsylvania, New York, Massachusetts, Ohio, and Wisconsin. He describes the way in which habeas corpus and trial by jury were utilized as the principal means to ensure the freedom of some blacks in the North and notes the complex jurisdictional questions and conflict of laws issues that arose as a result. He concludes that maintenance of the presumption of freedom in the personal-liberty laws was an important basis for the developments leading to the Fourteenth Amendment, with its prohibitions against state violation of life, liberty, and property, and its guarantee of equal protection of the laws.

Morris's well-researched book is an excellent example of the work of those American historians who believe that legal-constitutional history is intellectual history, and who always seem to consider law and the Constitution in terms of constraints on behavior rather than opportunities for action. Historians who take a more realistic view of constitutional and legal constraints will be distressed at the absence of social and economic material and analysis in the study. Morris's work is, however, a solid contribution to the literature on the law of slavery and abolition and is a welcome addition to William R.

Leslie's seminal dissertation (University of Michigan, 1945) on the Fugitive Slave Clause.

MARY F. BERRY
University of Maryland,
College Park

J. WADE CARUTHERS. *American Pacific Ocean Trade: Its Impact on Foreign Policy and Continental Expansion, 1784-1860*. (An Exposition-University Book.) New York: Exposition Press. 1973. Pp. viii, 231. \$8.00.

This book purports to be the "first single study that has been assembled to summarize and interpret the main Pacific Ocean influences upon American development." Whether this is so in some chronological sense or not, the author has at least attempted to relate the maritime to the territorial expansionist experience of the United States from the late colonial period to the Civil War. The book makes no pretense at original research but provides a number of relevant government documents and publications. It relies heavily upon standard secondary works, particularly those dealing with trade and diplomatic negotiation in the Pacific. It is of interest to note, in this connection, that the author seems not to have read much in the periodical and secondary research literature published after the 1950s. He lacks the benefit of instruction that might have stimulated his attempts at synthesis and avoided the somewhat mechanical juxtaposition of maritime and territorial influences that he describes as an interpretive venture.

To his credit, Caruthers depends upon several basic secondary works that are frequently listed in the literature but are underutilized and insufficiently appreciated. Names such as Albion, Bancroft, Cole, Griffin, Dennett, Paullin, just to pick some at random, represent a classical collection of writings in diplomatic history that might also serve other students of American history, particularly in the intellectual and cultural sphere.

Caruthers senses full well the significance of American imperial expansion. To him it is not merely linear in development through time; rather it is a mix of immediate and intermediate projections of American interest into and through the continent as well as across the Pacific. As the territorial pioneers pummeled the continent's interior, the seafaring pioneers in California, Hawaii, and the Pacific Northwest cast loops of trade from territorial positions that were old (New England) as well as new (the

California Coast and the Northwest trading posts) across the ocean to eastern Asia.

He recounts this theme in the six chapters of his book that deal in succession with the early development of maritime activity in 1750-1830; the Northwest Coastal frontier, 1778-1850; China and its place in the formulation and development of American policy; the California frontier, 1796-1850; Hawaii and its attraction to the American orbit to 1860; and the somewhat independent but strongly associated American moves in Japan through the period of Pacific Ocean exploration and Perry's mission.

This study will have a useful role as an outline exposition for students who may not have been able to disentangle the overwhelmingly nationalist and diplomatic history bias of much early writing in this field. It reinforces the great surge of interest among post-World War II historians in the re-examination of American imperialism and expansionism. It outlines the relationship between the pre-Civil War expansionist cycle and the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century imperialism of economic and world power for the United States.

CHARLES VEVIER
College of Medicine and Dentistry
of New Jersey

JOHN PORTER BLOOM, editor. *The American Territorial System*. (National Archives Conferences, volume 5. Papers and Proceedings of the Conference on the History of the Territories. Sponsored by the National Archives and Records Service.) Athens: Ohio University Press. 1973. Pp. xv, 248. \$10.00.

This excellent book contains twenty short papers or comments about them presented at the first conference on the history of the territories of the United States held at the National Archives in Washington in 1969. Also, there are two tributes or memoirs of the late Clarence E. Carter. The book is edited by John Porter Bloom, the able successor of Carter as editor of *The Territorial Papers of the United States*.

Probably best described as a potpourri of observations about particular aspects of certain of the territories, the material is primarily political history. It is arranged loosely in chronological order, covering the period from the mid-nineteenth century to the present and even a hint of the future. It was not the purpose of this book to deal only with questions that loom large in the history of an individual territory or to cover all the sectional differences. There are sections dealing with the courts, the slavery

controversy, the desirability of appointing territorial officials from among residents, or carpet-bagger nonresidents. But even these are not presented with a uniform treatment.

Those of us who have special interest in several specific territories will be pleased to find mention of our own favorite problems, and we will be just as pleased to be forced to give some thought to the complexities of the whole territorial system. Some scholars have long felt that the continuous influence of the territories on the mainstream of national events has been underplayed; they also will be pleased. Few historians would claim to have knowledge about all of the territories over the past two hundred years, and this selection of the papers should interest them.

It is to be regretted that a short review does not permit space to comment about each of the various articles or mention the names of the respective authors. This book is a commendable job. To general readers, it might be helpful to point out, that desirable in the long run or not, our forefathers believed the logical way to handle the expansion of the United States was by territories. Time has justified their position.

ALEC R. GILPIN
Michigan State University

JAMES S. CHASE. *Emergence of the Presidential Nominating Convention, 1789-1832*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1973. Pp. xvii, 332. \$8.95.

Ever since the presidential election of 1832, a significant American political institution has been the quadrennial convention of parties to nominate candidates and to invigorate campaigns. James Chase explores the evolution of this institution, describes the conventions of Antimasons, National Republicans, and Democrats in 1832, and evaluates the long-range impact. He does these things effectively in this interesting, informative monograph.

It is no surprise to learn that the national nominating convention was not an instant discovery. Over the years both England and America had used conventions for various political and social purposes, and in the first four decades of the national period, other devices, notably the legislative caucus, proved to be deficient, as politics democratized and as the second-party system developed. After the strange election of 1824, King Caucus was falling rapidly because it seemed incompatible with the ideal of governmental responsiveness to popular will. Then when the efforts of Presidents Monroe and Adams to exclude party considerations had

plainly failed, new alignments for and against Jackson arose. So the time was ripe for adopting the party convention, which had been found useful for quite some time at local and state levels, for national operations.

Antimasonry, an unbelievable phenomenon of the day, was in the forefront with two national conventions in 1831, the second of which nominated the reluctant, ineffectual William Wirt. Yet the movement had shown the real advantages of a convention to recruit and organize a substantial following. Afterward the supporters of Henry Clay, more than Clay himself, brought together delegates to a National Republican convention, where, according to prearrangement, Harry of the West was selected as their candidate. Finally, the Democrats, chiefly to validate the choice of Martin Van Buren as Jackson's running mate, met in convention—an occasion, by the way, for establishing the important two-thirds rule and the unit rule. Perhaps in dealing with the Democratic strategy, the author departs farther from existing historiography than elsewhere, as he contends that the Red Fox of Kinderhook was chosen because of his political capacity and his martyrdom owing to the Senate's rejection of his appointment as minister to England, not because of pressure from the president himself.

The final section of the book essays some useful generalizations. Chase concedes that the democratic claims of advocates of the convention system had defects, particularly because such gatherings were usually managed rather than thrown open to deliberative decision. Nonetheless, by reinforcing the valuable two-party system, by inducing disparate elements to work together, and by convincing the people at large that the convention was indeed democratic, the institution turned out to be constructive and durable.

MAURICE G. BAXTER
*Indiana University,
Bloomington*

HENRY J. ABRAHAM. *Justices and Presidents: A Political History of Appointments to the Supreme Court*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1974. Pp. ix, 310. \$10.00.

Professor Abraham presents a readable, lively account of the appointment and subsequent judicial career of each of the one hundred individuals who have served or are now serving on the Supreme Court of the United States. In the first chapter the author briefly surveys the Su-

preme Court appointments of the Nixon era—the abortive nominations of Clement Haynsworth and George Harrold Carswell and the successful designations of Warren Burger, Harry Blackmun, Lewis Powell, and William Rehnquist. The how and why of judicial appointments are examined in the next two chapters, with the remainder of the book presenting some basic information about each appointment beginning with Washington's administration, highlights and evaluations of the appointee's subsequent judicial service, and brief commentaries on the performance of each president.

The book should be of interest to nonspecialists, and it may fill a need for a convenient general reference on Supreme Court appointments. It does not, however, constitute a substantial contribution to scholarship. There is little evidence that the author's investigation of the subject carried him beyond secondary sources. No new themes or insights are presented. Virtually all of the information on specific appointments to the Court in Abraham's study is available in the now numerous judicial biographies, in biographies of the presidents, and in histories of the Court. Indeed the information on the appointment of certain justices is much more complete in some of these studies. The author's concern with the subsequent judicial performance of successful appointees no doubt will enliven the book considerably for the lay reader, but it also results in extreme encapsulation of the appointment process, which is reduced to scarcely more than journalistic summary of leading contenders, identification of the general considerations motivating each president to name certain individuals, and the visible aspects of senatorial action. The political dynamics of the appointment process hardly surfaces in such treatment. Moreover, the book is unfortunately marred by factual errors and inaccuracies. For example, the author states that under the California Plan when vacancies occur on the bench, the governor appoints for one year (p. 14). Actually, appointments are for two years or less, depending upon the time of the next regular statewide election. Roger Traynor is identified as chief justice of Illinois and Walter B. Schaefer as chief justice of California (p. 253). Traynor was chief justice of California and Walter Vincent Schaefer, who served briefly as chief justice of Illinois, remains on the supreme court of that state as senior associate justice.

CLYDE E. JACOBS
University of California,
Davis

FORREST McDONALD. *The Presidency of George Washington*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1974. Pp. xi, 210. \$10.00.

Still the most exalted of American military heroes, George Washington is also the most revered and best known of our chief executives. As befits the Father of his Country, his presidency has been microscopically examined and then restudied, repeatedly interpreted and reinterpreted. But the historical truism that there are always new things to be said is borne out by Professor McDonald's *Presidency of George Washington*, the first volume in a projected American Presidency series. The newness, however, consists chiefly in what the author has to say about the office rather than about the man.

McDonald's appraisal of Washington's exercise of the presidency is ambiguous. Although crediting him with four "monumental achievements"—Hamilton's fiscal program, the maintenance of neutrality, the opening of the Mississippi River to American navigation, and the solution of thorny problems in the Northwest—McDonald argues that Washington "was not, except in a symbolic sense, particularly efficacious in establishing the permanence of his country"; he "was indispensable, but only for what he was, not for what he did." Such contrarities are perhaps owing to the familiar problem encountered by historians of the Federalist era: Was Washington the master of his own administration or did he merely arbitrate the quarrels of his brilliant assistants who otherwise were responsible for its accomplishments? One's answer depends not only on the side one takes in the familiar case of Hamilton versus Jefferson but on one's focus. The student who concentrates on Washington is likely to view him as president in fact as well as name, the paradigm of the successful chief executive; the historian who centers on the two controversial secretaries and their followers will see the first president as something of a figurehead. Although he describes the Hamilton-Jefferson duality with admirable objectivity, McDonald subscribes to the view that the first president took "credit for achievements that he had no share in bringing about." The result is an account of the accomplishments of other prominent leaders, Hamilton in particular. Washington, despite the high praise occasionally bestowed on him, remains in the wings, on stage only to referee the fierce bouts between his antagonistic subordinates.

The depiction is neither right nor wrong but historically judicable. More consequential to

scholars are McDonald's original opinions on a number of major issues of the time. Examples are his accounts of the creation of the federal judiciary, the establishment of the First Bank of the United States, the development of political parties and the vulgarization of politics, and, most notably, the centrality of lands to America's early national history. The manner of their disposal and settlement was, as McDonald sees it, not only an issue in state and national politics but a crucial ingredient of seemingly unrelated measures such as Hamilton's reports on the public credit and a national bank. Western land, he argues, was also "the key" to United States foreign policy.

The defect of these as well as other less plausible surmises is the absence of meaningful annotation, obliging one to take on faith some challenging conjectures and more than a few hitherto unrecognized "facts." The traditional canons of humanistic scholarship, in sum, are still the indispensable prerequisites to credibility.

JACOB E. COOKE
Lafayette College

FAWN M. BRODIE. *Thomas Jefferson: An Intimate History*. New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 1974. Pp. 591. \$12.50.

Easily among the most compelling biographies yet to appear in the literature of American lives, Brodie's *Jefferson* is bound to stir up controversy for years to come, not only over her interpretation of Jefferson's character but also over her methodology. While acknowledging Jefferson's rationality and his passion for order and discipline, Brodie questions the interpretations of Jefferson, presented most recently by Merrill D. Peterson and Dumas Malone, as a person who for the most part held his sexual and emotional drives in check. Her case is a good one. There is no doubt, for example, that previous Jefferson scholars have misinterpreted the famous "head and heart" love letter to the Englishwoman Maria Cosway as a plea for rationality. Too, they have overlooked the severe migraine headaches and frequent depressions to which Jefferson was prone. Brodie offers persuasive proof that his relationship with Maria Cosway went much beyond a flirtation. Her argument that his liaison with his slave, Sally Hemmings, was in fact a reality, while plausible, rests on much more circumstantial evidence. Still, in her portrayal of Jefferson's climactic years as president, Brodie surprisingly stresses control and rationality and

rejects the persuasive argument of the historian Leonard Levy that paranoia and despair conditioned those years. Despite his flaws, Jefferson emerges as much a heroic figure in Brodie's eyes as in previous biographies, and his common humanity deepens his appeal to her.

Faced with the scarcity of direct sources on Jefferson's personal life—a scarcity that has left previous scholars loath to plumb the depths of his character—Brodie has turned to an intensive psychological analysis of the body of Jefferson's writings, whether personal or public. The technique is highly speculative, although the speculation is often brilliant. But it rests on two shaky assumptions: first, that there is a real psychological dimension, not only to private letters but also to public documents; and second, that the pre-Freudian eighteenth-century man had roughly the same psychological make-up as the twentieth-century man, and that modern psychological techniques can consistently be used to analyze him. Moreover, the unrelenting rigor of Brodie's psychologizing leads her to many questionable speculations; for instance, when Jefferson writes in 1801 of nourishing good passions and controlling the bad, the statement seems much more an expression of rationality and of self-control than, as Brodie writes, of his "primitive fears about 'good passions' and 'bad passions.'" One wishes, too, that Brodie had steeped herself as fully in studies of eighteenth-century rhetoric and social customs as she has in twentieth-century psychology. Textual criticism, as Renaissance scholars have long known, is a complex art that works best when a variety of techniques are consistently used.

Notwithstanding, the book is a tour de force in the imaginative reconstruction of the historical past. Moreover, it challenges the common assumption that a man's public career and his private life rarely intersect. Indeed, historians of women, of sexuality, and of medicine will find much provocative material in Brodie's biography, and they can only be grateful that she has added strongly to their case that politics is not without question the marrow of history.

LOIS W. BANNER
*Douglass College,
Rutgers University*

ALBERT HALL BOWMAN. *The Struggle for Neutrality: Franco-American Diplomacy during the Federalist Era*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 1974. Pp. xvii, 460. \$13.50.

Few periods of American diplomacy have elicited so much scholarly controversy as the

Federalist period. In this volume, published twenty years after the completion of a dissertation bearing the same title but updated by references to recent works, Albert Hall Bowman writes from what the jacket accurately calls "a frankly Jeffersonian point of view." The Genêt mission, the Federalist plotting that led to the dismissal of Secretary of State Randolph and ratification of the Jay Treaty, the quarrel with France raised to a crescendo by the XYZ Affair, the undeclared war and the tangled negotiations that liquidated it are all approached from this angle of vision. Jeffersonians seldom come in for a word of rebuke. Federalists, with of course special attention to Hamilton, are accused of selfishness, disloyal Anglophilia, Machiavellian dishonesty, and lack of faith in their country.

Many of these criticisms are justified, and they are forcefully and clearly put forward. Except for points of detail, however, most have been made before. Moreover, Bowman sometimes engages in overkill, which actually weakens his case. He is also less than perceptive when dealing with President Adams, a central figure who is first pictured as a near villain and then a hero, although in fact his policy remained remarkably consistent.

A large share of this book is devoted to French developments, and Bowman clearly demonstrates the importance, for policy toward America, of shifts in power at Paris. The Gironde and the Directory are castigated, the one as too messianic and the other as too debauched, while the Jacobins and, to a lesser degree, the Napoleonic government come off well. Bowman goes too far when he claims that no other scholar has "systematically exploited" (p. ix) the French archives. Alexander DeConde, for one, has done so, and DeConde's judgments, particularly those that explain if they do not entirely exculpate Talleyrand during the XYZ Affair, tend to be more restrained and convincing than Bowman's. The foreign minister may not have been the unalloyed villain he once was thought, but he certainly was a sinuous and cynical statesman, not least in dealing with the Americans.

BRADFORD PERKINS
University of Michigan,
Ann Arbor

LAWRENCE H. LEDER, editor. *The Colonial Legacy*. Volume 3, *Historians of Nature and Man's Nature*; volume 4, *Early Nationalist Historians*. Two volumes in one. New York: Harper and Row. 1973. Pp. vi, 344. \$17.50.

It is true, as Lawrence Leder claims, that the four volumes in this collection "provide the most complete discussion available of America's early historians," but this does not mean that all of the best ones are represented. Notably absent are William Gordon, David Ramsay, and Jedidiah Morse. The historians of the third and fourth volumes, unlike those of the first two, are not united by major themes or perspectives. The rubrics "Historians of Nature" and "Nationalist Historians" are for the most part arbitrary, and some of the authors ranked thereunder seem to have no more relevance to one classification than to the other. The first group comprises Mark Catesby, Cadwallader Colden, Antoine Simon, Le Page du Pratz, James Adair, William Stith, and William Smith. The latter seems singularly out of place, for he conceived of his *History of the Province of New York* (1792) chiefly as a political narrative. The "nationalist historians" include John Marshall, William Henry Drayton, Ira Allen, Jeremy Belknap, François-Xavier Martin, Thomas F. Gordon, Thomas Jones, and Anne Grant. Only in a broad sense can Anne Grant be considered a historian at all since her *Memoirs of an American Lady* (1808), based on "a warm heart, a vivid imagination, and a tenacious memory," consists of the reconstruction of social life in Albany around 1765. She left America in 1768 at the age of thirteen and brought out her book in Edinburgh.

But the substance of the individual essays is more important than their classification. Several of them reveal sound and original research, particularly those dealing with Allen, Belknap, and Gordon. The article on Le Page du Pratz, however, is marred by a number of errors in French titles. This author belongs as much to European culture as to American, since his history of Louisiana was published in Paris and presumably influenced Chateaubriand. Probably the best known of the historians included in the last two volumes is Marshall, but the ones whose works are still frequently consulted are those on Indian affairs.

The editor is to be commended for his introductory essays that skillfully correlate the work of the various historians of an earlier age, but it is regrettable that he makes no attempt to assess their relative worth. It may be true, as one of the contributors affirms, that "lesser historians and lesser works are better known" than some treated in these volumes. But for the most part no specific claims are offered for any of them either by the editor or by the individual contributors other than their being pioneer, representative, or classic. But even at

that, this scholarly collection provides the best view available of the extensive range and diverse ideology of early American historiography.

A. OWEN ALDRIDGE
University of Illinois,
Urbana-Champaign

CHASE C. MOONEY. *William H. Crawford, 1772-1834*. [Lexington:] University Press of Kentucky. 1974. Pp. xi, 364. \$15.00.

William H. Crawford is the only major political figure in early nineteenth-century America who has not been heretofore the subject of a full-scale biography. Destruction of his personal papers by fire may account for this lack of attention, although the late Professor Chase C. Mooney here demonstrates that intensive research can yield sources not available in the central repositories.

Compared to the long careers of many of his contemporaries, Crawford's service to the nation was brief. He was a United States Senator (1807-13); served as minister to France (1813-15) and secretary of war (1815-16); and achieved his greatest success as secretary of the treasury (1816-25). Refusing in 1816 to oppose Monroe, he lost his best chance of attaining the presidency. His promising career ended in illness and frustration with the presidential election of 1824-25, after which, apparently never completely free from the effects of his illness, he returned to Georgia, filled a judgeship, and was active in local affairs until his death in 1834.

Mooney adds depth to many aspects of this rather familiar story and renders thoughtful judgments. His treatment, while on the whole fair, is sympathetic and sometimes defensive. Crawford is seen not as his detractors portrayed him but as a "reasonably imaginative, practical, efficient, . . . competent and ethically sound" administrator (p. 80). He, as well as fellow members of Monroe's cabinet, exercised less freedom of action than is generally realized.

Despite its good qualities, the biography leaves gaps in our knowledge of its subject. The absence of family letters results in little information on personal matters. No explanations are given for Crawford's dislike of William Henry Harrison and other Westerners. More detailed examination is needed of the Georgian's policies as secretary of the treasury, particularly of those that engendered bitter and lasting controversy. The most satisfying analysis of the study is that of the presidential

campaign of 1824-25, with Crawford at the center. Mooney, of course, renders a distinct service by rescuing from obscurity the final decade of Crawford's life.

JAMES F. HOPKINS
University of Kentucky

ROBERT A. MCCAUGHEY. *Josiah Quincy, 1772-1864: The Last Federalist*. (Harvard Historical Studies, volume 90.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1974. Pp. xii, 264. \$12.00.

Robert A. McCaughey's life of the "last Federalist" is the first since Edmund Quincy's admiring biography in 1867, half of which was devoted to his father's eight years (1805-13) as an uncompromising and frustrated congressman. As McCaughey demonstrates, however, Josiah Quincy is of primary historical importance as an energetic and innovative local personage.

Quincy, who personified the continuance of Federalist ideology long after the collapse of Federalism in politics, was "perhaps the most successful urban reformer in early nineteenth century America" (p. 114). As the second mayor of Boston (1823-28), he introduced administrative procedures suited to a growing city and reforms in public health, relief, fire protection, and vice control; by buying up adjacent land, he made possible the New Faneuil Hall Market, Boston's first successful publicly financed urban renewal project. As president of Harvard (1829-45), he strove for its political autonomy and financial independence, infused discipline and scholarship into an ineptly administered college for playboys, and helped make possible Eliot's great university later in the century.

Quincy always took an active interest in slavery, opposed Louisiana's statehood, and moved from free-soilism to abolitionism and Republicanism. As McCaughey argues, Quincy's writings contributed significantly to the destruction of the Whig party. While approving of Lincoln's measures, Quincy considered the Emancipation Proclamation as only a beginning; the ultimate goal, he told the Union League in 1863, was to refute the Confederacy's notion of the natural inferiority of the blacks.

It is regrettable, therefore, that McCaughey barely considers Quincy's relation to either the Negroes or the swelling Irish population of Boston. Although Josiah did not join the Know-Nothing crusade of the fifties, a tantalizing footnote (p. 257) mentions a description of him running for governor on an antinativist "Honest Man's Ticket."

With this exception, McCaughey discerningly relates Quincy's life and thought to the currents of change in nineteenth-century Massachusetts and the nation. Elitist and overly self-righteous, Quincy was contemptuous of a new generation of manufacturers and popular officeholders. Doubtful that material abundance was evidence of wisdom or durability, he clung to older Puritan virtues of personal responsibility, self-denial, and communal solidarity. He was convinced that his friend, John Quincy Adams, in turning toward Republican nationalism early in the century, had followed the wrong path. McCaughey's biography, a model of felicitous writing, is well informed and takes account of recent scholarship.

ROBERT ERNST
Adelphi University

MERTON M. SEALTS, JR., editor. *The Journals and Miscellaneous Notebooks of Ralph Waldo Emerson*. Volume 10, 1847-1848. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1973. Pp. xxix, 615. \$18.00.

EDWARD WAGENKNECHT. *Ralph Waldo Emerson: Portrait of a Balanced Soul*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1974. Pp. 307. \$8.95.

The publication of both these books is timely, given what appears to be a sort of current reappraisal of Emerson's importance, and—to use that difficult word—influence in American thought. Yet the renewed interest is not surprising—in the Transcendentalist world Ralph Waldo Emerson had bowled the sun.

The first work, edited by Merton M. Sealts, Jr., is the latest volume of the Belknap/Harvard edition of Emerson's journals. It continues the splendid efforts of the other editors of the series. The substance of this volume covers the years 1847-48, the year of Emerson's second trip to England, and then to Scotland, and to Paris. Ultimately, much of the journal material during this year became *English Traits* (1856). The present work is artfully done, painstaking and informative—in every way it is a careful, truly scholarly effort. Emersonians will be delighted with it, other editors impressed, and professional scholars generally indebted. The volume deserves its place with its nine companions in the library of any serious Emersonian.

Mr. Wagenknecht's book is a psychobiography; the author makes his clear, careful distinction between this sort and more conventional biography (pp. 234-39). The book is temperate, solicitous of fact, and conspicuously

devoid of excesses to which such biography might be tempted. The work brings together much material already known of Emerson; Wagenknecht's scholarship is wide and searching, and little seems to escape his eye. Yet one would not have thought that Quentin Anderson's work could so easily be scanted (p. 49), or that a "portrait of a balanced soul"—surely an uneasy subtitle, at best—could be limned without some more explicit attention to Emerson's poetry, an omission somewhat curiously explained (p. 103). We are given details on the size of Emerson's hat and neck, the conformation of his nose, the quality of his voice and presence, and a discussion of his physical appearance and ailments (pp. 19-26); on later pages appear discussions of the influence upon the American Transcendentalist of Persian poetry, and Emerson's opinion of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century English poets (pp. 82-90). Worthwhile sections include Emerson on evil (pp. 172-78), his value to present contemporary Americans (pp. 141-42), together with rewarding pages on love (pp. 137-58), and in section 3 on politics (pp. 172-78). Again the discussion of Emerson as America's most seminal mind (pp. 225-31) is valuable and should be read together with Hyatt Waggoner's like opinion of Emerson as poet.

This book will prove valuable to those beginning a study of Emerson, or refurbishing, after a period of time, their recollections of his value. The work of Charles Feidelson, Jonathan Bishop, Hyatt Waggoner, Quentin Anderson, Ralph Rusk, Stephen Whicher, and others may still be of more aid to scholars who still try to fathom that curious half-Yankee, as one of them has written, standing on the rim of the world.

LEONARD GILHOOLEY
Fordham University

SALLY M. MILLER. *The Radical Immigrant*. (The Immigrant Heritage of America Series.) New York: Twayne Publishers. 1974. Pp. 212. \$7.50.

This is a modest work. The author has selected about two dozen persons who are both clearly immigrants and to some extent or another radicals, and she has given brief running accounts of their lives, careers, and ideas. Her preface states: "A broad definition of the word 'radical' is utilized. This allows for the consideration of individuals as diverse as Alexander Berkman, who was finally exiled because of his ideas, and Carl Schurz, who eventually fit comfortably into the mainstream of American politics." That is indeed the problem. The collec-

tion, which spans a century, includes (I quote subheads) among "Antebellum Radical Immigrants" "Communitarians," "Labor Activists," and "Immigrant Feminists"; among "Forty-eighter Radicals" we find "Doctrinaire Radicals," "Militant Abolitionists," and "Radical Politicians"; and two more chapters cover "Radical Labor," divided among "Miners and Millworkers" and "Needle Workers," and "The Revolutionaries," divided among "The Socialists" and "The Anarchists"—all this in a book of 212 pages. It is clear that the work of Daniel Bell, David Shannon, Ira Kipnis, Theodore Draper, and other historians of American radicalism is neither supplanted nor supplemented. A concluding "Profile of the Radical Immigrant"—those selected for the volume—reports that they were young, of middle-class backgrounds, products of European educational systems; "in a number of instances the radicals appear to have been influenced by paternal liberals" (p. 158); most became radical in Europe, one-fourth were of Jewish and one-fourth of Roman Catholic background, the rest of various Protestant groups, few became conservative in later life—and similar unsurprising findings.

NATHAN GLAZER
Harvard University

ROBERT WILLIAM FOGEL and STANLEY L. ENGERMAN. *Time on the Cross*. Volume 1, *The Economics of American Negro Slavery*; volume 2, *Evidence and Methods—A Supplement*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1974. Pp. xviii, 286; xi, 267. \$8.95; \$12.50.

Economists Robert Fogel and Stanley Engerman have used some of the quantification techniques that confused traditional historians during the 1960s to produce, in their words, "a fairly comprehensive reinterpretation of the nature of the slave economy." From census data and other materials they draw the conclusions—not all with equal force or for the first time—that for whites the enslavement of black Americans was a comparatively profitable investment, carried on among persons who were neither ignorant nor pessimistic as agricultural businessmen, within a Southern economy that was far from stagnant. They suggest that the Negroes themselves were more efficient and productive in their work, more stable in their family life, and less subject to unique physical hardship—whipping, sexual abuse, malnourishment, and interstate sale—than has recently been portrayed.

These propositions, so in tune with the post-civil rights era in which they emerge, are indeed provocative, but the various means for reaching them are often provoking. Historians versed in quantification theory cannot accept all its usages here, and others must question the assertions of this "research report" on different grounds. First, the element of time, stressed in the title, is itself crucified in paragraph one—where the "years of black enslavement" stretching over eight generations are reduced to "the antebellum era"—and is never adequately resurrected. By drawing data primarily from the mid-nineteenth century, the authors continue to minimize evolutionary factors in the overall equation of slavery, just as did most of the scholars they criticize in their extensive historiographical comments. Second, whatever the justification of putting all footnotes and references in a separate supplement volume, the source citations for some of the data are simply inadequate to permit prompt verification of results. This is troubling in a study that makes much of scientific methodology where replication has always been essential. Finally, an unintentionally partisan tone creeps into interpretive passages at times, so that the slave system seems to be defended and its interpreters attacked in ways that are not essential to the data and the argument.

Yet ironically, the study's most telling contribution may stem less from any "sophisticated" or "objective" methodology than from its freewheeling assessment of the historiography of slavery. Hidden behind the numbers is a group portrait of slavery historians that, like many unposed sketches by outside observers, will invoke criticism less for being unbalanced and incomplete than for being suggestive and revealing. In analyzing their predecessors, Fogel and Engerman indirectly help prepare for a new approach to slavery that will center more around comparative labor studies than around econometrics. Nineteenth-century plantations, it may soon be said, were not agrarian remnants of an outmoded feudalism but experiments in mass production, where management used rewards and incentives as well as punishments in the perpetual trade-offs for greater efficiency. Accordingly, Afro-Americans, as the peasant work force most suited to group labor by their Old World traditions, became not only efficient workers *within* the system, as documented here, but also effective workers *of* the system. They were using slowdowns, sick days, and collective bargaining long before these tactics became part of the American labor

movement, from which blacks have so often been excluded by white unionists and historians.

PETER H. WOOD
Duke University

BENJAMIN QUARLES. *Allies for Freedom: Blacks and John Brown*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1974. Pp. xiv, 244. \$7.95.

Professor Quarles has written a perceptive and comprehensive account of John Brown's relations with the black abolitionists of the antebellum period. Although five biographies of John Brown have been published since 1970, Quarles has drawn from the sources material that gives new insights into black history. He not only focuses on the part played by blacks in Brown's crusade, but also on the action of Negroes in the creation of the Brown legend and his canonization as a martyr who has become a part of black heritage.

Quarles's study differs from other Brown biographies in its broader focus and span of times. It traces the activities of blacks who kept Brown's memory alive as an ageless figure by regular pilgrimages and by the image created by artists, playwrights, and sculptors. Quarles finds the black's idealization of Brown to be a more towering figure than his actual career seemed to warrant. They ignored his shortcomings and attached no blame to the stains on Brown's career because of his conduct, for they had such familiarity with legitimate and extralegal violence in America (pp. x, 35).

Quarles agrees with David Potter who concluded that Brown "never thought to ask the Negroes if they would accept him as a leader, and if so, what kind of policy they wanted him to pursue." Quarles finds this to be a characteristic of Brown rather than a racial attitude (p. 81). The inability of Brown to attract more than five blacks to join him in his attack on Harpers Ferry is viewed by Quarles as a major miscalculation. Brown went astray because he believed that black militancy was widespread and that large numbers of black activists would join him. He assumed that the revolutionary rhetoric of violence, which was characteristic of the black abolitionist's public expressions, was an indicator of a commitment to violent action. But the black abolitionist, like the white reformer, used revolutionary rhetoric as a threat rather than a battle cry.

Brown's dual beliefs that black militancy was widespread and that any number of action-oriented blacks would join him in his planned

foray into Virginia was put to the test at Harpers Ferry. This low black enrollment was a major miscalculation on Brown's part (p. 72). Some black abolitionists were temperamentally unsuited for a raiding action (p. 73).

Despite Brown's flaws as a man, Quarles sees him as an ageless figure because of his liberal vision of the brotherhood of man. Brown continues "to be a bright and morning star in the racial remembrance of Negro Americans" (p. 192).

VICTOR B. HOWARD
Morehead State University

WILLIAM L. BARNEY. *The Secessionist Impulse: Alabama and Mississippi in 1860*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1974. Pp. xv, 371. \$14.50.

Quantification, as a research tool, continues to attract scholars, particularly in the broad area of political behavior. Professor Barney combines cross-tabulations and percentages with impressionistic sources, especially newspapers, to determine why the Breckinridge Democrats led Alabama and Mississippi out of the Union. After portraying the South as "beleagured" in 1860, he cross-tabulates selected socioeconomic variables from the manuscript census in the counties won and lost by Breckinridge for active state, county, and local politicians. These included office holders, committee members, presidential electors, county delegates to a state convention, participants in ratification meetings, political club members, and planners of such party functions as political barbecues. According to Barney, the Alabama Breckinridge Democrats were usually younger and wealthier, and their wealth was acquired more recently than their opponents'. The Mississippi elites are characterized as having essentially the same attributes except that the Whigs attracted more of the "young wealth" than in Alabama. Involved in "exploitive agriculture," they were on their "way up" the economic scale and, therefore, campaigned vigorously for slavery expansion, and if that failed, secession. "As a result, the Breckinridge Democrats swept to power while the Whigs stagnated and the Douglasites were checkmated" (p. 100). In the presidential election, the counties won and lost by Breckinridge—divided into three slaveholding categories—are cross-tabulated with seven economic and political variables. For both states the "Breckinridge men harnessed the energy and reaped the votes of the most dynamic [fastest

growing] regions of the countryside" (p. 151). These Democrats exploited the political, economic, and social tensions until "whites in Alabama and Mississippi seemed incapable of retaining their self control" (p. 171). The author then traces the secession process in which the Breckinridge Democrats were, apparently, "Old Faces in a New Campaign."

Barney's methodology is acceptable, and he updates much of the research relative to the secession crisis. His conclusions, however, are not warranted by the data. The data presented are, to a considerable degree, unused, undigested, and confusing, which makes verification exceedingly difficult. The result is a Procrustean study of a very complex topic. For more precise analyses, one must continue to refer to the works of Ralph A. Wooster and Thomas B. Alexander and his students.

J. KENT FOLMAR
California State College,
Pennsylvania

CARL L. DAVIS. *Arming the Union: Small Arms in the Civil War*. (National University Publications, Series in American Studies.) Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press. 1973. Pp. xiii, 207. \$12.50.

STEPHEN Z. STARR. *Jennison's Jayhawkers: A Civil War Cavalry Regiment and Its Commander*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1973. Pp. xvi, 405. \$12.95.

During the late 1950s and the early 1960s literally hundreds of books were published on various aspects of the American Civil War. By the end of the centennial period it was predicted that the student in the classroom and the general reader would be so sated with the sectional conflict, with slavery and secession, and Bull Run and Vicksburg that an immense national yawn would greet any author who tried to write about this period in American history. Indeed there has been a substantial decline in the number of "quickie" histories written to capitalize on the "centennial market." The well-written and soundly researched studies by serious historians, however, are still being published in fair numbers, and occasionally fresh interpretations are advanced. The Davis and the Starr volumes belong to the category of the "soundly researched studies."

Most military historians would agree that the Civil War was the first of the modern wars and the last of the old wars. In the words of Carl L. Davis, "Nowhere is that fact clearer than in

the procurement, manufacture, issue and development of small arms." Certainly the acceptance of breech-loading rifles and later repeating arms changed many of the concepts and tactics of war. With the increased range, accuracy, and volume of fire, the advantage on the battlefield shifted to the defense. No longer could advancing infantry or cavalry expect to reach their opponents with only minor casualties. (This lesson was apparently missed by the military leaders in World War I, who did not seem to realize the Industrial Revolution had advanced only far enough to turn out the simpler weapons of defense. The more complicated ones favoring the attack—tanks, airplanes, motor transport, all weapons of mobility—did not appear except in their primitive stages or in ineffectual small quantities.) In *Arming the Union*, Davis builds his story around the work of the United States Ordnance Department. Hampered by political interference from outside, and insufficient time and personnel within (only sixty-four trained ordnance officers were assigned to the department at the end of the war), the Ordnance Department faced an almost impossible task. Yet Davis, taking issue with the commonly held view that the organization was totally incompetent, points out that "the Ordnance Department and its central office, the Ordnance Bureau in Washington, managed arms policy better than might logically be expected, in view of the limitations placed upon them." Through production at the government-owned armory at Springfield, purchases from such private arms makers as Sharps, Colt, Remington, Henry, and Spencer, and by acquisitions in foreign countries, the Ordnance Department was able to arm the largest force the United States had ever put in the field.

Jennison's Jayhawkers is the story of a unique Civil War regiment, the Seventh Kansas Volunteer Cavalry, and the colorful individuals who shaped it and gave it its character: Colonel Charles R. Jennison, John Brown, Jr., Daniel Anthony (Susan B. Anthony's brother), and Marshall Cleveland. Stephen Z. Starr does not pull any punches when he describes the Seventh Kansas as "an embodiment of the Jekyll-Hyde personality of its organizer and first colonel, Charles Jennison, who combined in his own person the unprincipled amorality of Cleveland the brigand and the single-minded devotion to principle of Brown the zealot of freedom." Making excellent use of letters and diaries, the author provides support for the dust jacket

statement that "individually, the troopers of the Seventh Kansas were no different—no better and no worse—than men of any other Union regiment. But as a unit they killed civilians and prisoners, pillaged the loyal and disloyal alike, and burned homes and barns wherever they went thereby adding the term 'jayhawking' to our vocabulary." Some students of the quasi-guerrilla-type war in the Trans-Mississippi West may question the comment "no other regiment in the union army had so evil a reputation, or had done so much to deserve it as the Seventh Kansas Volunteer Cavalry."

Although Starr does an adequate job of describing the Jayhawkers' role in the campaign in Missouri, Tennessee, and Mississippi, he does little to relate their activities with other units. His handling of tactical situations in such battles as Tupelo leaves much to be desired. A greater use of maps and battle charts would have improved this book significantly.

JAMES J. HUDSON
University of Arkansas,
Fayetteville

THOMAS W. SPALDING. *Martin John Spalding: American Churchman*. Washington: Catholic University of America Press, in association with Consortium Press. 1973. Pp. xi, 373. \$12.00.

This volume about Martin John Spalding, the second bishop of Louisville and seventh archbishop of Baltimore, begins with an unneeded apology. Well aware of trends in the writing of recent American Catholic history, the author is self-conscious about another biography of a bishop when there has been such a reaction against the "uncritical and moralizing character" of Catholic biography and institutional history. He need not apologize. In the first place, since members of the hierarchy, to use the author's own words, "ruled the destinies of the American Catholic Church in an almost absolute manner," it is essential that we continue to do good episcopal biographies. In this sense, by definition to do biography is to do the history of the Church in America. In the second place, this is a very good biography. Based upon the archival collections at Notre Dame and elsewhere, the author gives us a well-developed portrait of the country's leading Catholic apologist and legislator between the episcopacies of John Carroll and James Cardinal Gibbons. Martin John Spalding (1810-72) illustrates the problems of Catholic prelates of the nineteenth century who had to deal with the

divergent demands of the Church and society on American Catholics, and the responses of undeviating loyalty to the Holy See and yet an ardent patriotism. The biographer has described these responses well, especially in his treatment of Spalding's effective use of press and platform as an apologist, of his leading part in the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore as a legislator, and of his position on infallibility at the First Vatican Council. The author is also helpful in showing us the skill with which Spalding used his status as bishop in dealing with everyday affairs of the Church in Louisville, in Baltimore, and in the United States of America, which was also his parish.

Thomas W. Spalding, the author of this study, is chairman of the history department at Spalding College in Louisville. While this book need not have begun with an apology, we do need to raise some more questions about what it is to write critical biographies of members of the Catholic hierarchy. This biography would be more interesting, for example, had the writer shown more of the social, political, and economic developments during the years in which Martin Spalding exercised his powers as bishop. One other example will suffice to illuminate this issue. Very early in his career Spalding took up the pen to defend Catholicism against the "unjust charges" of American nativists. He proved himself an apt apologist, and that is one way in which he won his reputation. Later when Pius IX published his famous *Syllabus of Errors* along with the encyclical *Quanta Cura*, in 1864, Spalding issued a pastoral letter. To his pastoral he appended his own "'carefully revised'" translation of the encyclical and *Syllabus*, "softening many of the papal anathemas" and "rendering the *Syllabus* palatable to the American public." The author does not tell us what "translation" means, nor is he specific about how Bishop Spalding made the papal documents "palatable." Is this Martin Spalding's idea of apologetics? Why should this subject enjoy the reputation of a responsible apologist, while those critical of aspects of the nature and character of nineteenth-century Catholicism always be charged with being unjust nativists?

This problem of what constitutes critical Catholic history is a large one, and it is being discussed by numerous historians. Be this as it may, Thomas Spalding has made a solid contribution to a growing body of first-rate Catholic biographies. Not only has he given us a better understanding of a highly intelligent

and articulate American, but he has also helped us understand American Catholicism under the leadership of Martin John Spalding.

JAMES H. SMYLLIE
Union Theological Seminary,
Virginia

DAN L. THRAPP. *Victorio and the Mimbres Apaches*. (The Civilization of the American Indian Series, volume 125.) Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1974. Pp. xix, 393. \$9.95.

Victorio—steadfast leader of the Mimbres Apaches in southern New Mexico, remarkable guerrilla warrior, and enigmatic representative of his people in their dealings with white men—receives a sympathetic hearing in this lengthy chronological narrative. The author describes in convincing detail the clash between a nomadic, foraging Indian society and the government's overrigid policy of concentration and resettlement of Indians in the 1860s and 1870s; the series of broken promises; the surge of Anglo settlement in the mining district of Pinos Altos; the survival of the Apache way of life against great odds; and Victorio's final break with his white opponents in August 1879. The strength of the narrative derives from Thrapp's wide knowledge of Apache history and his ability to place Victorio's life into this larger context. Maps, photographs, and the author's acquaintance with the terrain he describes also help to clarify the sequence of events.

The text is extensively, honestly documented and studded with quotations, but the sources are less valuable as proof of the author's interpretation than as evidence of how hazy are the reflections of Victorio in the official records. Nearly all of the first-hand information about the Mimbres Apaches comes from reports by government Indian agents and, as Thrapp recognizes, "No white man knew him [Victorio] well, although many made contact with him frequently" (p. 313). Since the Indians rarely speak for themselves in this book it seems too much to claim that this is really "his [Victorio's] story" (p. xi). In fact, Thrapp gives us a more intimate understanding of the agents than of Victorio and his people.

Thrapp carefully searches out prejudice in his sources when they cast long shadows on his Indian protagonists, but his method is not so rigorous in regard to Mexicans. He accepts uncritically the agents' views that Mexicans, in their dealings with the Indians, were typically rascals, horse thieves, murderers, unscrupulous liars, and purveyors of bootleg whiskey (pp.

35-36, 42, 52, 60-62, 104, 128, 135, 147). He also accepts at face value Indian statements that it was the Mexicans who were always spoiling for a fight (pp. 32-33) when Indian violations of national boundary and raids on Mexican towns suggest a more reciprocal relationship. In contrast to his treatment of Mexicans, Thrapp questions reports of Indians stealing livestock and views Indian raiding as "wholesome" (p. 204). The only Mexican to emerge as a convincing individual is Joaquín Terrazas, the "restless," "resourceful" (pp. 295, 297) representative of Chihuahua's most powerful family who inflicted the final defeat on the "old" and "perhaps tired" Victorio (p. 298). Except for Terrazas's published memoirs, sources from a Mexican point of view were not consulted for this study. A note on page 253 mentions but does not utilize the Secretaría de Guerra y Marina Archive in Mexico City, a rich source of information on Indian wars and rebellions in the nineteenth century from the Mexican side.

WILLIAM B. TAYLOR
University of Colorado,
Boulder

WILLIAM J. BOWERS. *Executions in America*. Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, D. C. Heath and Company. 1974. Pp. xxviii, 489. \$20.00.

This is primarily a sociological analysis of the death penalty in America, and it largely confirms the twin conclusions of Thorsten Sellin, in "Murder and the Penalty of Death," *The Annals* (1952), that the death penalty has been unfairly administered in a fashion discriminatory by race and class, and that it has not provided deterrence commensurate with its severity and inhumanity when compared with imprisonment. But the analysis of William Bowers and his associates also provides considerable historical depth, especially in the first two and the seventh chapters, and some comparative dimension as well in chapters 5 and 7. They acknowledge their debt to the unique inventory of the 5,707 executions conducted under state (as opposed to local or extralegal) authority from 1864 through 1967 in the United States, an inventory compiled by Negley Teeters and Charles Zibulka. Indeed, more than half of the volume consists of appendix A, which is the Teeters-Zibulka inventory, and appendix B, which is a bibliography compiled by Douglas Lyons that lists 633 authored and 200 unauthored references, 74 documents, and 21 case citations concerning the death penalty. Also included are 22 figures and 48 tables.

Most of the seven chapters in the text contain succinct conclusions, and the data are often devastating—for example, “Executions for rape were almost exclusively a southern phenomenon, nine out of ten persons executed for rape were blacks, and nine out of ten executed black offenders had white victims” (p. 102). *Executions in America* is unequivocal in its indictment that the death penalty’s legal functions of retribution and deterrence have been ancillary to its extralegal functions of social control in the form of minority group repression and majority group oppression.

HUGH DAVIS GRAHAM
University of Maryland,
Baltimore County

ERNEST S. GRIFFITH. *A History of American City Government*. Volume 3, *The Conspicuous Failure, 1870–1900*; volume 4, *The Progressive Years and Their Aftermath, 1900–1920*. New York: Praeger Publishers, for the National Municipal League. 1974. Pp. xii, 308; x, 352. \$10.00 each.

Ernest S. Griffith has been interested in municipal government for more than fifty years. His first book, *The Modern Development of City Government* (1927), was a comparative study of the United States and the United Kingdom for the period 1870 to 1920. He continued his work with *A History of American City Government: The Colonial Period* (1938), and in 1974, after a long hiatus, the two books under review appeared. In the intervening thirty years, Griffith had been deflected into other lines of research and administration as director of the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress and thereafter as dean of International Service at American University, from where he retired in 1965. He then returned his energies to his first intellectual passion, the governance of American cities.

A History of American City Government does not repeat the earlier 1927 work and is much broader than a narrow reading of the title might suggest. The first volume begins with a description of conditions in cities in 1870 and proceeds to examine cities in relation to finances, railroads, education, boards and commissions, corruption, and efforts at reform; by regions such as the South; and by a myriad of subtopics. Many of these bring to light fugitive pieces of evidence that have escaped chronicling. The detail is voluminous, and in a page or so the author will often spin through a dozen cities recounting facts about them that pertain, for

example, to water supply in the 1890s. That in itself makes for an extremely useful book but not a very interpretive one, for many sections seem to end at a point of information. The second volume follows the same pattern of organization but traverses more familiar ground with topics appropriate to the Progressive period. Reform, efficiency and scientific management, and the city-commission and city-manager plans are the principal features of the narrative. The book concludes with an overview of cities as of World War I and a brief summary statement.

The extent to which both books express a point of view can be seen in the dedication to Richard S. Childs, the “father” of city managerism, and in the fact that these studies were published for the National Municipal League. Good-government reform and city uplift are the guiding principles behind the selection and use of material. The short ballot, businesslike administration, at-large elections, commissioner-manager governments, economy and efficiency, and clean and simple governmental structures have been long-time favorites of the author. On the debit side of the ledger, Griffith arraigns ward representation, partisan elections, large councils, political machines and inefficiency, and the evils of the saloon as the major causes of the urban malady. Also contributing to the malaise are the problems attendant in catering to foreign-born electorates and the nonpropertied franchise among low-income slum dwellers. No new theses emerge from either volume since both are highly narrative and derivative. Both volumes reflect a political ideology and a set of attitudes that blossomed into full flower during the Progressive years and which I have labeled elsewhere as “structural reform.”

The scope of the two volumes is so enormous that one can perhaps understand why the author did not develop a plausible story line for many of his topics. His research design leads to certain problems such as fragmentation and a great deal of repetition whereby the same information is used in several different categories. The author does not handle conflicting interpretations very well and seems anxious to homogenize disagreements or to blur distinctions. On critical issues both books slide too often into imprecision and fuzziness. The footnotes are also deficient in this regard and unfortunately obscure as much as they illuminate historiographical questions. They are not always a reliable guide to the evidence or interpretations in the text. Griffith promises to remedy this deficiency by depositing in the Library of

Congress an annotated manuscript with a full set of citations.

Despite these caveats, these are very useful books, encyclopedic in their reach, and containing large inventories of valuable information, which both the student and the scholar of city government will find helpful.

MELVIN G. HOLLI
University of Illinois,
Chicago Circle

LEON C. METZ. *Pat Garrett: The Story of a Western Lawman*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1974. Pp. xii, 328. \$8.95.

Some cynics have said that since the Old West produced no really great or important historical figures it became necessary to manufacture some. A listing of representative examples would probably include Pat Garrett, the nemesis of Billy the Kid. Garrett may not have been too important historically, but he has achieved considerable fame, some of which he himself generated in the hope of profiting financially thereby.

Fortunately this book goes beyond merely chronicling the life of a rather typical gun-fighter-lawman. Several important and interesting truisms about the West are demonstrated either by design or in presenting the main story. Frontier law officers and those they pursued were often curious mixtures of good and bad. Garrett's domain was a rough place where maintaining the peace was a difficult and unglamorous task. This man, who worked at the job because it provided a living, once even had to battle Albert B. Fall's bulldog, "Old Booze," in order to bring in a prisoner. Southwestern citizens were great jacks-of-all-trades, ever working on new schemes to bring forth great riches; sadly, most of the time something went wrong and the dreams were not fulfilled. Pat Garrett tried his hand at many jobs, and after disaster struck he always managed to pick himself up and start over again at something old or new. He and his colleagues had a decidedly portable quality about them, as his frequent moves illustrate. Politics was a very serious business, and one's life might well depend upon his affiliations. Colonel Albert Jennings Fountain would have so testified had he lived. This was also a place and time where friendships and hatreds counted for much, and occasionally things happened for unusual reasons. A county in New Mexico was created so two outlaws could avoid surrendering to Sheriff Garrett.

There is much to praise here and little to criticize. Leon C. Metz has done a fine job of

producing what is above all else a highly entertaining tale well told. This subject matter ought not again occupy writers who can move on to other topics requiring attention.

JOHN S. GOFF
Phoenix College

WALTER C. KIDNEY. *The Architecture of Choice: Eclecticism in America, 1880-1930*. New York: George Braziller. 1974. Pp. viii, 178. Cloth \$12.50, paper \$4.95.

This brief but well illustrated volume is valuable as a survey of what might be called "The Other Tradition in American Architecture." For almost half a century now architectural historians have focused their attention almost entirely on the line of development, presumably beginning with Louis Sullivan and John Wellborn Root, running through Frank Lloyd Wright and his contemporaries of the Prairie school, to the work of the transplanted Europeans—notably Mies van der Rohe, Walter Gropius, and Marcel Breuer—in the thirties, and the great flowering of the high corporate style in the 1950s. Except for a few perceptive observers such as Wayne Andrews and the editors of *Classical America*, the contributions of McKins, Mead and White, Cass Gilbert, John Russell Pope, and a host of others have either been ignored or received a very bad press. Two observations can be made apropos of this situation in architectural historiography: First, from 1880 to 1930 or thereabouts eclecticism was what most of the tastemakers wanted. And, second, in the greater historical sophistication of the 1970s many historians are perceiving that the best of the eclectic work did have genuine virtues. It was, more frequently than we have recognized, well proportioned, beautifully detailed, and exceptionally well built.

Walter C. Kidney evidently belongs to the group that is trying valiantly to rehabilitate eclecticism. In this book he gives brief biographies and character sketches of the major contributors to the movement with illustrations of a few major buildings by each. This method leads him to an inevitable thinness of treatment with regard to his heroes. As an example, Bertram Goodhue's Nebraska State Capitol is a much more complex building than Kidney indicates. Nonetheless, it is good to have it taken seriously again. Kidney's definition of eclecticism also leads him to some extremely curious interpretations. Most people would classify Wilson Eyre as a gifted architect whose best work was heavily influenced by the Arts and Crafts move-

ment. Kidney chooses to emphasize the mediating elements in his work. It is also strange to see here the Pittsburgh work of Frederick Scheibler, which certainly stems from the Vienne Secession, included in this compilation.

The most serious weakness in the book is undoubtedly a certain slackness of critical judgment. It is true that Charles Platt and the firm of Delano and Aldrich were eminently successful eclectic architects and close contemporaries. When one has said that, however, one should say that Platt was so polished a designer that his work still commands admiration, while Delano and Aldrich were so bland as to be absolutely vapid. Still, when the architectural historian has noted these deficiencies, he is glad to have this book at hand. The best work of this generation is well worthy of study, and Mr. Kidney has helped to open the way.

LEONARD K. EATON
University of Michigan,
Ann Arbor

LLOYD J. GRAYBAR. *Albert Shaw of the Review of Reviews: An Intellectual Biography*. [Lexington:] University Press of Kentucky, 1974. Pp. xiii, 229. \$12.50.

Albert Shaw was almost the archetype of the genteel reformer, who lived well beyond the time when the concerns of genteel reform had much relevance to the American scene. Is he worth a biography—even this relatively brief one? Yes, for at least two reasons: he was a significant figure, if not a major one, in journalism, having served as editor of the once prestigious *Review of Reviews* for forty years. And he provides an interesting case study for any appraisal of the reform movement in this country during the six decades from 1880 to 1940.

Born in 1857 Shaw's youth was a rural idyl, typical of the times. He grew up in Paddy's Run, Ohio, then moved with his mother to Grinnell, Iowa, where he attended what was then known as Iowa College, now Grinnell, and launched his long career in journalism as part owner of a weekly newspaper. He went on to do graduate work at Johns Hopkins University when Herbert Baxter Adams and Richard L. Ely were helping to build its reputation as a principal source of new American political and sociological concepts.

All these experiences had their influence on Shaw, who hesitated between an academic career and journalism—a dilemma finally resolved when he became associated with the British re-

former, William T. Stead, in publishing an American edition of Stead's *Review of Reviews*. He remained a scholar of sorts throughout his life, even though he found little time for writing as he became more and more deeply involved in the trials and tribulations of editing a magazine.

As a journalist, Shaw set high standards for himself. His *Review*, which had little in common with the muckraking periodicals of the early twentieth century, sought to examine issues in a detached and reasoned manner. To its growing middle-class audience, it became a beacon of respectable concern—an authoritative spokesman for progressivism.

Shaw was at or near the center of political activities for many years, most notably during the period of Theodore Roosevelt's ascendancy. TR was his idol, as well as his close friend, and Shaw even deserted the Republican party in 1912 to support the Bull Moose movement.

But, like many of his fellow progressives, Shaw was unable to make the leap to Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal in the 1930s. He wanted to make it, and he tried, but his concepts of reform were too firmly rooted in the past—in the rural America of Paddy's Run and Grinnell. Shaw and his *Review of Reviews* became bitter critics of the second Roosevelt. Both the man and his magazine declined as these new developments passed them by.

The author of this biographical study, an associate professor of history at Eastern Kentucky University, does full justice to the public aspects of Shaw's career, though he provides little personal detail. Thus, the book comes off rather like its subject—cool, detached, smacking of textbooks. The information it provides is significant, but it never creates a persona. Graybar does little by way of analysis or interpretation of Shaw's career until the final few pages. Here he offers a critique which suggests that he did not much like Albert Shaw. It is an easily shared impression.

JOHN M. HARRISON
Pennsylvania State University

C. WADE MEADE. *Road to Babylon: Development of U.S. Assyriology*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1974. Pp. xi, 186, 1 map.

Whether inadvertent or not, the use of the word "development" rather than "history" in the subtitle of this survey of American Assyriology reveals its essential character: a handbook strong on facts but weak on interpretation. The task

of transforming a dissertation into a book is a difficult one, and the general reader, for whom this book is primarily intended, will find that the author has not been too successful. The minutiae contained in the many autobiographical sketches of American Assyriologists will strike him as disappointingly dry and offering little more than an enumeration of course offerings, research activities, and publications. And the "romance" of archeology, with its glimpses of the picturesque and dramatic descriptions of notable finds, is missing. The expert, on the other hand, will find the results of the author's industry useful, particularly the thirty-three page bibliography, containing 846 items.

The well-structured narrative begins with a brief account of the birth of Assyriology in Europe and the spread of that interest to the United States, which the author unconvincingly attributes to the nineteenth-century "spirits" of romanticism and realism, ignoring the impact of the new Mesopotamian discoveries on the widespread interest in Biblical studies. American Assyriology is divided into four periods: 1880-1900, during which the discipline developed under German tutelage and field archeology began in Mesopotamia with the University of Pennsylvania's four expeditions to Nippur (chs. 3-4); 1900-14, when the publications of American Assyriologists began to rival those of their European colleagues (ch. 5); the retrenchment of the war years, 1914-20, ending with the founding of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (ch. 6); and the period of extraordinary scientific progress between 1920 and 1939 (chs. 7-9). In contrast to his fuller treatment of the earlier periods, the author in these last chapters only skims the surface of developments that resulted in American dominance of the field. This disparity—the major weakness of the book—is illustrated by the more than four pages accorded to the low quality work of the single Adab expedition (1903-04) and the mere page and a half devoted to the seventeen highly fruitful campaigns conducted by the Oriental Institute in the Diyala region (1930-37). Apparently the author's view that the developments since 1939 (which he treats in a brief epilogue and a useful appendix listing thirty-three major U.S. expeditions to Iraq and Iran between 1885 and 1973) are "too recent to place . . . in their proper historical perspective," also accounts for his deficient assessment of the remarkable progress made in the 1920s and 1930s. Encouragement to delve deeper should have come from such works of synthesis and interpretation as Seton Lloyd's *Mounds of the*

Near East (1963) and André Parrot's *Archéologie mésopotamienne: Les étapes* (1946).

NELS BAILKEY

Tulane University

CLIFFORD S. GRIFFIN. *The University of Kansas: A History*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1974. Pp. xiv, 808. \$20.00.

The author of this work is a historian trained in professional standards of writing. He has been a member of the history department of the University of Kansas for fifteen years so is intimately acquainted with activities, organizations, and personalities associated with the university over a considerable period of time. He deals in detail with the problems of the university involving the exercise of authority by the regents, the chancellor, the university senate, and other bodies, sometimes with overlapping and even conflicting authority. The author points out that the Moody Act, passed in 1889, outlined the government of the university, and while it is still in force, it has been disregarded in recent years.

Some of the problems have been related to the extensive agrarian basis of the economy of the state, especially during years of depression and of prolonged drought. Careful analysis is given of the leadership of various chancellors. Many of the problems have recurred in various times and places. In early years when Lawrence and Topeka, among other communities, were competing for the location of the new university, it was found that five dollars purchased the vote of a legislator. When Chancellor John Frazer acted on the belief that important values were found in both his own Scotch-Presbyterian heritage and in the methods of science and evolution, he was deemed insincere by many. When a distinguished history professor, Frank H. Hodder, stated that one need not be especially concerned about Prussianism in the Old World, since Theodore Roosevelt exhibited similar qualities, vigorous but unsuccessful efforts were made to remove him. The bogey of communism also produced difficulties, as did a bitter feud in the 1950s between Governor George Docking and Chancellor Franklin Murphy.

Details of many reports of committees and of similar bodies have been utilized with careful documentation. Thus, the volume is a highly important source book. Yet the minutiae reported will stifle the zest for reading of many a loyal alumnus and often prevent the highlighting of very significant episodes. Professional historians, however, can hardly protest when one

of their number seems to overemphasize basic canons of the profession.

FRANCIS P. WEISENBURGER
Ohio State University

GERALD C. EGGERT. *Richard Olney: Evolution of a Statesman*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1974. Pp. x, 402. \$13.75.

For all his energy and skill, Richard Olney has normally ranked among the less lovable public servants of the 1890s. This new biography—the first since Henry James's respectful study of 1923—will not upset conventional impressions of the Boston strong man in Cleveland's second cabinet. It is a prosaic but very solid piece of scholarship. Professor Eggert has worked long and hard to penetrate Olney's dour exterior. A minor but characteristic example is Eggert's careful study of the Washington heat wave in the summer of 1894 in search of reasons for Olney's fierce response to the Pullman strike, which interrupted his vacation. In the end the author acknowledges that "only the outer Olney was knowable, not the inner man." Eggert's judgments of the outer Olney and his stormy record as attorney general and secretary of state are not gentle. "Gross improprieties" marked Olney's conflicting interests as a railroad lawyer in charge of national law enforcement. He systematically "squelch[ed]" effective prosecutions under the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. His foreign policy style, especially in the Venezuela boundary dispute, was "intemperate," "tactless," and "purposefully undiplomatic." Yet Eggert sees in both Olney's domestic and foreign policies a consistent pattern of growth and self-education, as he moved beyond confrontation tactics toward serious reflection on the problems his headstrong inexperience had allowed him to barge into. Official arbitration became his remedy for labor strife and international tension, and it proved to be his major theoretical contribution to the statesmanship of his age.

The book will bring no joy to radical revisionists. Eggert questions Gabriel Kolko's estimate of rail leaders' attitudes toward federal rate regulation and quarrels with the notion advanced by Walter LaFeber and others that Cleveland's foreign policy was grounded in concern about depression, overproduction, and the need for fresh markets overseas. Congressional jingoism turns out after all to be the main domestic anxiety on Cleveland's and Olney's mind in 1895–96. Despite his reliance on the jingo explanation, Eggert contents himself with a vague and rudimentary analysis of jingoism. In-

deed he pays little attention throughout to the relation between Olney's behavior and the configurations of domestic party politics. This is an odd shortcoming in an otherwise thorough and persuasive account.

GEOFFREY BLODGETT
Oberlin College

LEWIS L. GOULD, editor. *The Progressive Era*. [Syracuse:] Syracuse University Press. 1974. Pp. x, 238. Cloth \$9.95, paper \$4.95.

In the words of Otis L. Graham, Jr., "Progressivism is on its way, especially among younger scholars, to becoming a much resented social movement." In the book under review, members of the same scholarly generation as the debunkers present a more favorable interpretation of progressivism. Their underlying assumptions appear in the introduction of the editor, Lewis L. Gould, who, in contrast to Gabriel Kolko and James Weinstein, affirms: "If one accepts the legitimacy of democratic capitalism, . . . the work of the Progressive Era demonstrated the society's ability to ameliorate itself without revolution." Thomas K. McCraw concludes with a thoughtful evaluation of "The Progressive Legacy" in which he ranks the testators third only to the Founding Fathers and the New Dealers "who held it [the United States] together through a perilous time, partly by relying on reforms developed by the progressives." Although he neither overlooks nor condones their shortcomings, he reminds their detractors to judge them "not only by what seems obvious in our time, but by what seemed possible in theirs," and to take into account what they replaced, what they prevented, and what they achieved.

Like McCraw, the authors of the various topical essays are both sympathetic to progressivism and cognizant of the limitations that revisionists have exposed. The contributors, with the possible exception of Wilton B. Fowler on foreign policy, are more critical of progressive performance than the reader may infer from the introductory and concluding papers. In examining the origins (Stanley P. Caine), ideas (R. Laurence Moore), and major parties (Lewis L. Gould and John J. Broesamle) of the Progressive era, the chapters cover relatively familiar ground. They survey the developments of the time in the light of recent scholarship, which the writers illumine with insights from their own research. Each of the contributors to this volume is the author of at least one first-rate monograph on a related subject. The contributions of James Penick, Jr. and Melvin C. Holli-

on conservation and urban reform consist primarily of extrapolations from their previous studies of the Ballinger-Pinchot controversy and the Pingree administration in Detroit, respectively.

In assigning subjects to the contributors, the editor omitted some that warrant further consideration. Although social justice and public ownership are mentioned several times, these topics seem to merit individual chapters in a book devoted to a positive reassessment of progressive reform. What is the rationale for including an essay on the cities, and not on the states?

Even with these lacunae, the volume exhibits a coherence that is often missing from collective work. In this as in other respects, it follows a pattern established by H. Wayne Morgan in editing *The Gilded Age* (1963). Taken together, the new essays give an overview of *The Progressive Era* that is balanced in content, consistent in interpretation, and informed by the latest scholarship. To the specialist, they suggest little that is new; but to the student, they offer an alternative to the version of progressivism currently in vogue—and one that is equally relevant.

PAULA ELDOT
California State University,
Sacramento

DAVID W. MARCELL. *Progress and Pragmatism: James, Dewey, Beard, and the American Idea of Progress*. (Contributions in American Studies, number 9.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press. 1974. Pp. xiv, 402. \$13.95.

"James's faith in democracy as a 'kind of religion' was firm and unshakable; it was a faith that assumed that democracy progressed because it allowed the 'better men' ultimately to take the lead." William James lived of course in the era of Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson. We who live in the era of Watergate might be more inclined to accept Henry Adams's judgment: the history of the American presidency disproves the doctrine of evolutionary progress. Professor Marcell has set out to prove that the idea of progress is alive and well. It is a timely subject, and his book is thoughtfully organized and clearly written. On the whole Marcell is very good at elaborating in simple prose the technical problems of philosophy. Teachers of American intellectual history should find the work interesting and useful. Graduate students may find it essential for "getting it together" be-

fore their Ph.D. exams. Marcell provides several helpful categories around which variations on a single theme can be organized. Given all the "live options," undergraduates may even start believing in progress once again.

The book opens with Adams and James exchanging letters criticizing one another's views on the nature of the universe, the problem of knowledge, and the meaning of history. The American historical profession, Marcell notes, rejected Adams's pessimistic vision of entropy and ignored the scientific philosophy on which it was based. Early chapters are also devoted to the legacy of progress in American thought and to the "evolutionary dialogue," which features an illuminating discussion of Chauncey Wright, the philosophical dualist who has been somewhat overlooked by intellectual historians. Marcell then explores the differences among the "soft," "hard," and "telic" conceptions of progress as articulated by John Fiske, Wright, and Lester Ward. Here nineteenth-century Americans had the choice of a benign Christian quietism, a tough empirical neutrality, or an almost cosmic sociological system.

The author's larger ambition is to analyze in detail the aspirations and assumptions of three major twentieth-century writers: James, who believed that history is, like experience itself, a datum of reality that can be acted upon and transformed; John Dewey, who formulated an instrumentalist approach to the study of the past as a "problem solving" enterprise; and Charles Beard, who struggled to liberate himself from nineteenth-century "formalism" only to later yearn for an "ethical center" in an empirical universe of change and flux. Indeed one is tempted to say that the shaky epistemological foundations of pragmatism collapsed upon Beard, who ultimately discerned what Dewey refused to consider: that one cannot begin to solve a problem until it is morally perceived as such. Marcell seems to imply, however, that Beard's idea of history as an "act of faith" reiterated James's "will to believe," and that both these voluntaristic resolutions offered a philosophical lifeline with which to pull the historian out of the quicksand of relativism. Surely this is to grasp as a solution to a problem what is in reality the problem itself. Resolving the issue in Jamesian terms only compounds relativism with subjectivism. Marcell wants to show the centrality of the concept of progress to modern American intellectual history and its vitality for modern American society. But his book also reveals the limitations of pragmatism for historical

understanding. If it is any consolation, perhaps it should be noted that even contemporary French intellectuals like Sartre and Foucault have been stymied as well as obsessed by the problem that Beard faced: the primary separation of consciousness from being, or, in Beard's more prosaic distinction, the alienation of "history as thought" from "history as actuality." It is to Marcell's credit that he senses this existential dilemma when he tells us that the "crisis" in history was largely the crisis in man's thoughts about history. Here the union of reality and mind is permanently split, which is not so much a problem as a condition. Henry Adams was the first American historian to perceive this ontological rupture. While James, Dewey, and Beard turned their thoughts bravely toward the future, Adams looked forward to ruin, backward to hope. Apparently *The Education* is being read once again in undergraduate courses. Now that's progress!

JOHN P. DIGGINS
University of California,
Irvine

NANCY J. WEISS, *The National Urban League, 1910-1940*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1974. Pp. xiv, 402. \$12.50.

In his review of *Blacks in the City: A History of the National Urban League* (1971) by Guichard Parris and Lester Brooks (*AHR*, 79 [1974]: 890-91), Professor Louis R. Harlan observed that while the book is "far from the final word . . . it is a good beginning" (p. 890). Professor Weiss's history of the same organization for the years 1910-40 is certainly a big step toward "the final word." While it covers much the same ground as did Parris and Brooks, it is based on a much more exhaustive research in a wide variety of sources, including the records of the National Urban League and its affiliates. Furthermore, as coauthor of *Blacks in America: Bibliographical Essays* (1971), Weiss is familiar with the larger national context within which the league operated from its origins in 1906 to the Second World War, and she skillfully traces its relationship to developments in the black community. Throughout, Weiss avoids the danger, too frequent in such studies, of devoting so much attention to the institution she is discussing that she neglects the background essential to perspective and evaluation.

Even a book as fine as this one has its share of weaknesses. For example, while Weiss minces no words in criticizing the racism of the AFL

and concedes that the efforts of the National Urban League to alter this situation were fruitless, she fails to mention the league's approach to the IWW, the Trade Union Educational League, and the Trade Union Unity League, which also challenged the AFL's racist policies. Nor is there a single sentence devoted to the National Negro Congress in the mid-1930s and its policy toward organized labor. In general, Weiss's discussion of the influence of radicalism in the black community tends to be superficial. While one need not exaggerate this influence during the Great Depression, to reduce it, as Weiss does, to the single statement that "Communists and Socialists made a strong appeal to blacks" (p. 240) is inadequate even for the general reader.

On page 39 Weiss reports that Ruth Standish Baldwin, widow of one of the leading white philanthropists behind the league and herself a principal figure in the organization, was "a member of the Socialist Party." Several pages later, she notes that Mrs. Baldwin was an uncritical admirer of Booker T. Washington's racial thought and strategy, his accommodationism and meliorism—principles that were anathema to the Socialist party. Some comment on this seeming contradiction would appear to be in order.

Despite these weaknesses, Weiss has given us the best and most comprehensive study of one of the major institutions for black Americans. It is to be hoped that she will carry the history down to the present.

PHILIP S. FONER
Lincoln University,
Pennsylvania

ARTHUR E. BARBEAU and FLORETTE HENRI, *The Unknown Soldiers: Black American Troops in World War I*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1974. Pp. xvii, 279. \$10.00.

Black Americans in 1917 lived with a particular irony: they were being asked to fight in a war to make the world safe for a democracy they did not share. But, as they had in earlier wars, blacks fought and died either out of patriotism or in the hope that from their contribution would come recognition, equal justice, and the rights of full citizenship. What came instead was lynching and systematic discrimination inside the army and out.

Barbeau and Henri present an essentially sound study of civilian and military attitudes toward blacks, the training and service of black

combat and noncombat units, and the special difficulties facing black officers. The authors demonstrate that the army, which mirrored a generally racist society, was convinced that most blacks were incapable of enduring combat and should be used only as labor or supply troops. The first unfortunate combat experiences of parts of the black Ninety-second Infantry Division were seen as confirmation of this judgment. Incompletely trained and badly led, some units performed poorly as green troops often do in their first encounter with veterans. Contrary evidence, such as the excellent combat records of the men of the four black regiments who fought as parts of French divisions and were treated as equals, was disregarded.

Neither strictly traditional military history nor solely social history, this book should be of interest to both groups of historians. The bibliography includes an extensive list of contemporary articles, memoirs, and pamphlets. While some National Archives and other manuscript materials were consulted, a number of significant collections are not cited. Although the conclusions will very probably be confirmed by further studies, they would seem more secure if based on more substantial archival and manuscript sources.

Marred by almost no typographical errors, the book reads clearly, if not dramatically. The authors marshal their evidence well and construct their arguments carefully. All too frequently, however, they deem it necessary to restate their conclusions in somewhat simplistic terms. Such a restatement of the obvious does a disservice to both the reader and the authors.

CHARLES W. JOHNSON
University of Tennessee,
Knoxville

RODGER VAN ALLEN. *The Commonweal and American Catholicism: The Magazine, the Movement, the Meaning*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1974. Pp. v, 218. \$4.50.

Rodger Van Allen attempts much within brief compass in this survey of the *Commonweal's* fifty-year history. On the whole, he succeeds admirably. His two-hundred-page essay is a sketch rather than an exhaustive treatment of the liberal Catholic journal, but it highlights some of the principal issues in twentieth-century American Catholic history.

The book is organized in three broad divisions, each of which is subdivided topically. Most of the subchapters deal with the maga-

zine's thematic emphases and editorial positions, but Van Allen also traces changes in the staff and offers thumbnail biographies of important personalities like Michael Williams, the founder, and George Shuster, the managing editor from 1928 to 1937. These subchapters average only six or seven pages in length, but Van Allen manages to avoid chopppiness in the narrative. He is seriously handicapped in trying to reconstruct the internal history of the magazine, however, by the destruction of office files for all but the most recent past.

Van Allen claims that the three broad divisions of the *Commonweal's* evolution recapitulate the major phases of American Catholic history since the time of John Carroll, the first bishop. Thus the period of "patrician origins," covering the years from its establishment in 1924 to 1938 when a new set of editors took over, parallels the early Anglo-American phase of general American Catholic history. In the second epoch, 1938-59, the *Commonweal* was directed by men of an earthier stamp, several of whom came from Irish working-class backgrounds; this, says Van Allen, corresponded to the "long immigrant period of American Catholicism under Irish hegemony." The *Commonweal's* third stage, "maturity and identity crisis," which occurred between 1959 and the present, coincides in time with the same phase of overall Catholic development.

This fanciful recapitulation theory is the least convincing of the five "conclusions" Van Allen draws from his study. He also concludes that the *Commonweal* has been independent of ecclesiastical control and of adherence to a rigid ideology; that it has been right about most of the major issues it addressed; that it "has been a nonmovement movement in American Catholicism" (that is, the symbol of and spokesman for a particular orientation within the American Church); and that it is the most significant achievement of Catholic laymen in this country.

These conclusions are obviously suffused with value judgments with which not all readers will agree. The adequacy of Van Allen's presentation of this or that epoch of the *Commonweal's* history is likewise open to question. His treatment of the 1960s, for example, struck me as incomplete in coverage and superficial in interpretation. But disagreement on such matters does not detract from the value of the book. It is a useful contribution to the study of recent American Catholicism.

PHILIP GLEASON
University of Notre Dame

ROBERT CONOT. *American Odyssey*. New York: William Morrow and Company. 1974. Pp. xxviii, 735. \$14.95.

Having served as a consultant to the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, Robert Conot believed that the Kerner Report was of limited value. To understand why the urban riots of 1967 occurred, a "long-range history of the American city and its polyethnic population" was needed. To supply this, Conot has written a thoughtful book focused on Detroit. It differs from other urban histories in devoting major space to developments beyond the city boundaries. It links the growth of Detroit to national and regional events like the building of the railroads and the exploitation of Michigan's mines and forests, and it explains immigration by describing societies as remote as Cornwall and Hungary. Such extensive coverage inevitably results in some errors of detail and dubious generalizations.

Conot is on much firmer ground in writing about twentieth-century Detroit. Here he has discovered rich material in the records of juvenile courts and social agencies as well as in interviews with many participants. He describes colorfully but fairly the activities of Detroit businessmen and a few outstanding mayors. But the most striking feature of the book is the central place reserved for people given fictional names and altered biographies to conceal their identities. Since other scholars can scarcely check the accuracy of such data, the procedure violates the historian's usual scruples. Nevertheless, it permits Conot to give an appalling account of just how the city condemns many victims to alcoholism, drug abuse, sexual promiscuity, and crime.

Today's blighted population is largely black. In earlier generations it was Irish, or Polish, or Jewish. In each period the older settlers feared the criminality and violence of the newcomers and moved outward to escape. But this emphasis on the continuity of history does not modify Conot's grim assessment of the present situation—all the more depressing because so many people of good will hoped to make Detroit a showcase for the War on Poverty. Skeptical of cure-alls, Conot emphasizes that the city's morbid symptoms result from the larger illness of American society and can only be relieved by long-range restoratives. In his emphasis on poverty Conot pays less attention than he probably should have to Detroit's large middle class, both black and white. Despite such minor flaws, *American Odyssey* provides a compassionate and

realistic analysis of the forces that have shaped one American city.

NELSON M. BLAKE
Syracuse University

PATRICK J. GALLO. *Ethnic Alienation: The Italian-Americans*. Rutherford, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press. 1974. Pp. 254. \$10.00.

Patrick Gallo, in this three-generational study of political alienation among Italian-Americans, provides a useful addition to the continuing discussion on ethnic group reactions to American society. The main question the author seeks to answer is "whether the American political system tends to neutralize or sharpen an ethnic group's sense of exclusion from the dominant roles, values and institutions" (p. 17) of American life, and also what effect exclusion has on their perception of politics.

The methodology used in this book involves intensive interviewing of a small sample of thirty Italian-Americans, some very recent immigrants, and fifteen white Anglo-Saxon Protestants. Gallo's intention is first to determine the degree of exclusion and then to relate this to politics. He discusses a number of variables such as residence, income, and occupational mobility to prove that Italian-Americans have not assimilated structurally and remain an out-group on most levels of American society. As a result, ethnicity and the politics of recognition still play an important role in their perception of politics. Within this framework of exclusion, the political system—through such factors as ethnic strategies—does not act as an integrating force but instead encourages out-group attitudes. Exclusion also results in alienation and a sense of political powerlessness, although there are some variations based on an individual's educational, income, and generational level.

The major failing of this book is that while the author, at times, attempts to indicate the representative nature of his sample, he has not used an important source that would have provided help in doing just that. During the 1960s the National Opinion Research Center collected survey data on ethnic groups using some of the same sociological variables incorporated into this study. The NORC data perhaps would have substantiated some of Gallo's points.

This criticism should not be overstressed, however, since this study is designed to be suggestive, not conclusive, and it is here that the book has some worth. Using the author's research as a model for future studies on ethnicity

and political perceptions, one may be able to develop the empirical data to prove his thesis.

RONALD H. BAYOR

Georgia Institute of Technology

MALCOLM GOLDSTEIN. *The Political Stage: American Drama and Theater of the Great Depression*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1974. Pp. x, 482. \$13.95.

Malcolm Goldstein's study of the depression theater deals with considerably more than the "political" stage. It discusses not only the techniques and ambitions of "agit-prop," the Theater Union, and the Group Theater, but also the Federal and Mercury Theaters, the Theater Guild, and the works of playwrights—Maxwell Anderson, Robert Sherwood, S. N. Behrman, Sidney Howard, Elmer Rice, and Lillian Hellman—not directly identified with any political movement or ideology. The result is an informative survey of how the theater responded to the problems of depression and war. Although much of Goldstein's narrative covers familiar ground, it does offer a straightforward and coherent summary of the intentions and achievements of the depression stage. Moreover, it lucidly contrasts the esthetically innovative and politically radical experiments of the early 1930s with the more conventional and conservative plays produced in the years after 1935 under the influence of the Popular Front.

Nevertheless, Goldstein's history is weakened by his apparent unwillingness to do much more than recapitulate plots, summarize reviews, indicate the number of performances of a particular play, and trace the internal tensions within various theatrical companies. Rarely does Goldstein attempt to organize his material around a set of controlling questions or arguments. Yet these arise inevitably from his narrative. What were the artistic and political consequences for a theater that insisted on combining "socially conscious" themes with commercial dramatic techniques? Did the intrusion of overt propaganda ever succeed in appealing to anyone besides those already converted to radical ideas? Could the theater of the 1930s really expect to influence social policy? What is the nature and function of "radical" or "political" art, and did the depression stage offer any adequate examples?

Above all, why do the plays of the 1930s, whether radical or commercial, seem so mediocre in retrospect? Goldstein himself acknowledges the banality of many of the works he is discussing, and he points out that the key prob-

lem confronting every theatrical organization throughout the decade was "the difficulty of finding intelligent scripts of any artistic stamp or ideological persuasion" (p. 338). If Clifford Odets was "unquestionably the foremost American dramatist to emerge in the decade" (p. 336), one is left wondering why a crisis as profound as the depression produced no Eugene O'Neill, no Tennessee Williams, no Arthur Miller, no Edward Albee. Indeed, why is it that the movies of the 1930s appear more interesting, both artistically and thematically, than the stage? Some effort to answer these or other questions might have transformed a valuable compendium of information into a definitive assessment of the theater's true significance for depression America.

RICHARD H. PELLIS

*University of Texas,
Austin*

CARL W. CONDIT. *Chicago, 1930-70: Building, Planning, and Urban Technology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1974. Pp. xvi, 351. \$12.50.

This book completes Professor Condit's "technical biography" of Chicago since 1910. In the previous volume, covering the years 1910 to 1929, he celebrated the achievements of the Burnham Plan and the great commercial and cultural buildings completed before the onset of the depression. This work chronicles the decline of urban creativity over the past four decades. Before 1945 depression and war checked Chicago's development; since then economic decline, racist politics, rampant real estate and building speculation in fashionable portions of the central city, public housing policies designed to create segregated "machines for non-living," gross neglect of the city's parks and public schools, and pandering to automobile and airplane traffic at the expense of mass urban transit and railroads have virtually destroyed Chicago as a livable human environment.

At the same time, beginning in the late 1950s, the center of Chicago has undergone a tremendous redevelopment with some buildings equal to the best in Chicago's distinguished architectural history. Condit lovingly details the structural and esthetic characteristics of the best work of Ludwig Mies van der Rohe and other creative architects and engineers and savors the ironies associated with the Chicago Picasso. With few exceptions, however, even the best structures have contributed little to a more humane community.

Condit is aware of the conditions responsible for this combination of great buildings and urban decay—the state of the city's economy and the attitudes of its elite—but he does not devote sufficient attention to these themes. He notes the decline in the proportion of the nation's population and labor force in the Chicago area, but he does not develop the topic and its influence on Chicago's leadership. Similarly, he comments on the population decline of the city without explaining the economic and fiscal implications of Chicago's changing population profile. Mayor Richard Daley receives his share of criticism; what needs to be examined is the relationship of the city's business and financial elite to its fiscal and political plight.

Condit perceptively concludes that Chicago forms such a striking example of urban America's paradoxical failure "because of the incredible contrast between its evils and its unparalleled artistic, architectural, structural, and planning achievements." However, he follows this by saying, "Only a radical program of physical and moral reconstruction initiated by the people themselves could restore the promise of an earlier day" (p. 281). But who are "the people"? Who is to provide the leadership and mount the financial, political, and moral resources necessary for such a program? Neither Condit nor anyone else seems to have an answer for that question.

This book, like its predecessor, is well illustrated and has useful statistical tables, but it relegates the full notes to the end of each chapter rather than putting them on the bottom of the page.

JAMES F. RICHARDSON
University of Akron

ANDREW BUNI. *Robert L. Vann of the Pittsburgh Courier: Politics and Black Journalism*. [Pittsburgh:] University of Pittsburgh Press. 1974. Pp. xv, 410. \$12.95.

Recently a number of biographies on black journalists have appeared. Men like T. Thomas Fortune, Monroe Trotter, and Joseph Mitchell have been carefully covered. And now the journalistic efforts of Robert L. Vann of the Pittsburgh *Courier* have been uniquely brought to light by an associate professor of history at Boston College, Andrew Buni.

This biography—consisting of twelve chapters and an epilogue—covers all aspects of Vann's career from his birth in Ahoskie, North Carolina, to his death in Pittsburgh in 1940. Moreover, the work skillfully weaves in the

numerous roles that Vann assumed during his life—lawyer, publisher, entrepreneur, and politician. In addition to Vann's life and career, the biography notes the events and issues of the day that affected and shifted Vann—as well as those he shaped and shifted. The *Courier's* coverage of Joe Louis, the "Brown Condor," the Homestead Grays, the Italian invasion of Ethiopia, the Scottsboro case, and the Brotherhood of the Sleeping Car Porters stands out in bold relief in the book. Coupled with these factors, Buni has included the maneuvering that Vann did in political arenas in Pittsburgh, in Pennsylvania, and on the national level to help shift black votes.

The methodology is comprehensive, including primary sources and taped interviews, and the style is good and solid. At present the work is destined to become a major landmark in biographies of black journalists. I highly recommend it to the general public and academic community. Buni's work, having been a primary effort, now makes it much more difficult for those who follow him, for they will indeed have much to do to improve upon his efforts.

HANES WALTON, JR.
Savannah State College

FRANK M. BRYAN. *Yankee Politics in Rural Vermont*. Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England. 1974. Pp. xviii, 314. \$12.00.

Dr. Bryan describes Vermont as an intensely rural state, judged by population density alone. It "doesn't need urbanism and will refuse it when offered" (p. 236). I think Vermont was a nineteenth-century rural state with a literate, mechanically skilled, money-oriented, and mobile population. Some time between the rejection of the Green Mountain Parkway Bill in 1935–36 and the quiet acceptance of the interstate highway system, the eastern conurbation took over Vermont as part of its outer suburbs, for the skiers of Mount Snow and the professors of Peacham. The old rural-urban distinctions are no longer meaningful here, except perhaps in "the North East Kingdom," an urban slogan for the area farthest from the cities.

Like many first books, this is full of stimulating efforts—incomplete and sometimes inconsistent—to revise previous scholarship, sections of jargon and sections with journalistic punch, and overall unevenness. The statistical analyses make heavy going though Bryan tries hard to translate into common language. Social scientists have long been asking why Vermont was solidly Republican so long. In the 1950s they

began to ask why this preponderance dwindled. Several doctoral theses tackled these questions but Bryan's thesis is the first to be published. After an able historical introduction, the author analyzes for 1945-71 the major officials and the party and legislative processes.

A case study of the parkway issue shows that Vermont's political processes "have been relatively free of socioeconomic contamination" (pp. 124, 223-24). The rejection of the New Deal proposal by forty-two thousand to thirty-one thousand votes shows, according to Bryan, that it was basically a party vote, with Burlington and Rutland newspapers reinforcing the result. But the usual party ratio was nearer two to one in major elections. Distance from the big cities where the recreation buyer would come from, not considered as a variable, shows a clearly positive correlation on Bryan's map. The southern counties feared, the northern hoped, that the parkway would carry tourists farther north.

All concerned with the recent rapid social changes in northern New England and New York will long use this pioneer work.

T. D. SEYMOUR BASSETT
University of Vermont

WAYNE S. COLE. *Charles A. Lindbergh and the Battle against American Intervention in World War II*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich. 1974. Pp. xvii, 298. \$10.00.

Wayne S. Cole travels familiar territory in this latest volume. Having published earlier studies of the America First Committee and of Senator Gerald P. Nye, he now examines the most glamorous opponent of American intervention in the Second World War, Charles A. Lindbergh. This book was not intended to be a full-fledged biography, for although it opens with Lindbergh's activities in the 1930s and ends in a brief survey of his life since the war, it concentrates on the years 1939-41 and the campaign against intervention. The Lindbergh that appears is less the shy, hesitant individual he was thought to be and more a willing participant in the movement to keep America out of war, an independent, honest if politically naive, spokesman for white Western civilization. Fear of collapse of that civilization, because of familial infighting, produced his hope for an early end to the war in Europe and his insistence that the United States remain aloof, in position to reassert Western dominance. This same fear—and same view of the West as a single entity—does much to explain Lindbergh's

hesitation to acknowledge, perhaps his inability to see, the worst features of the Nazi regime. It also explains his willingness to take positions that provoked abuse in the press, conflicted with the Roosevelt administration, and plummeted his personal reputation.

The major contribution of this worthy and needed book stems from the author's bringing together information from a vast array of manuscript material, ranging from Lindbergh's papers to collections in the British archives. Cole explodes no hidden bombshell, offers no general new view, but he does provide clarification of such matters as Lindbergh's decoration by Hermann Goering in 1938, his purported anti-Semitism, and Roosevelt's efforts during the war to keep him from active military service. The primary shortcoming is a shortage of penetrating analysis: one would like to see more of the author's conclusions and less reliance on Lindbergh's statements and remarks by contemporary observers. A much smaller matter is Cole's repeated reference to Lindbergh's critics as "the interventionists"—some were in favor of war; some were not.

At the end the author poses "inevitable questions" about the relationship of Lindbergh's ideas, expressed more than three decades ago, to the contemporary world. He is wise not to attempt answers, thereby avoiding entanglement in numerous "if" propositions. Lindbergh's predictions were at times contradictory, as often wrong as right. If he anticipated the growth of Russian power in Europe, for example, he also predicted the collapse of the Soviet system. Perhaps it is most meaningful to note that at the time of Lindbergh's death in 1974 eulogies reminisced on "Lucky Lindy," the Lone Eagle of 1927, not the sage of the 1940s. Cole's book should not change the feeling of people who admired Lindbergh as a man of courage, honesty, and principle; it also supports a conclusion that courage and dedication are not always enough.

ROSS GREGORY
Western Michigan University

SEIKKO ESKOLA. *Yhdysvaltain lehdistö ja Suomen kriisi: Kevästä 1941 Pearl Harboriin* [The U.S. Press and the Finnish Crisis: Spring 1941 till Pearl Harbor]. (Historiallisia Tutkimuksia, 92.) Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura. 1973. Pp. 215.

This book is a description of how Finland was treated by the U.S. press during eight "crisis" months, three of which preceded and five of

which followed Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union in June 1941, at which time Finland became a cobelligerent with Germany on the eastern front. The author focuses on 1,009 news items that appeared in two isolationist newspapers (the *Chicago Tribune* and the *New York Journal-American*) and two interventionist newspapers (the *New York Times* and the *Christian Science Monitor*). The analysis is so detailed that the author seems to lose sight of the forest for the trees, although he succeeds in conveying his general point that the U.S. press was on the whole relatively objective in its reporting of Finnish military matters (49 per cent of the 1,009 news items), Finnish foreign policy (45 per cent of the 1,009), and Finnish domestic politics (6 per cent of the 1,009). Two caveats are introduced by the author, however.

In terms of factual accuracy, most of the errors (approximately fifty in all) were found on pages of the *New York Times*, in particular in dispatches originating from the newspaper's Stockholm correspondent. This weakness is nonetheless appropriately weighed against the fact that the *New York Times* accounted for over half the news items analyzed by the author. The second component of objectivity, press neutrality, is a more serious problem. The author notes that the isolationist newspapers, especially the *Chicago Tribune*, were "never" critical of Finland, and that this stance was prompted not so much by concern for Finland as by a desire to condemn the Soviet Union and charge the Roosevelt administration with immorality in its foreign-policy dealings with Stalin. On balance, however, neither weakness is of sufficient magnitude to cause the author to conclude that the U.S. press lacked objectivity.

The paucity of news about Finnish domestic politics is attributed to what the author calls the absence of "any significant political changes. Cabinet shifts, elections, crises, or deep-seated unrest or signs thereof." One might expect this reaction from the U.S. press, but one wonders how a Finnish scholar can fail to consider "significant" the arrest of seven prominent Social Democrats (six members of parliament and the city manager of Helsinki) in what constituted a series of oppressive actions initiated in 1940 by a pro-German wing of the Social Democratic party and carried to their logical conclusion shortly after Väinö Tanner, cabinet member and leader of the Social Democratic party, publicly urged in mid-summer 1941 that the opposition be "crushed." The author's image of Tanner is perhaps less accurate and less neutral, that is, less objective, than was the U.S.

press in its coverage of the Finnish lion's struggle for survival in a Europe dominated by Germany and the Soviet Union.

JOHN H. HODGSON
Syracuse University

CHESTER W. GREGORY. *Women in Defense Work during World War II: An Analysis of the Labor Problem and Women's Rights*. (Exposition-University Book.) New York: Exposition Press, 1974. Pp. xxii, 243. \$9.00.

From 1940 to 1944 the female labor force of the United States increased from 13.8 to 19.1 million. Since this impressive statistic is relevant not only to the study of war mobilization but also to the burgeoning field of women's history, one turns to this book with considerable anticipation. After sorting out the governmental agencies involved, Gregory adopts an industry-by-industry approach, tracing the rise of female blue-collar employment in aircraft plants, shipyards, steel mills, and farms. The supporting statistics are at once too copious and too skimpy: a benumbing mass of figures documents general trends, but too often these aggregate totals blur important distinctions involving region, age, race, and social or marital status. Reflecting his sources—wartime journalists, industry and government publicists, Women's Bureau investigators—Gregory paints a generally sunny picture: inspired by patriotism and a strong if ill-defined impulse toward "emancipation," the female war worker rapidly overcame all difficulties and hostility to compile an amazing work record and win the admiration of her male co-workers. (Gregory's conviction that the war allowed "new ideas and seeds of social change to come to life" and almost "created a new woman" recalls the effusions of those who perceived in the carnage of 1917-18 the seedbed of a brighter tomorrow.) The postwar period poses problems—the mass firings after V-J Day, the dismantling of day care centers, the failure to translate wartime equal pay guidelines into peacetime legislation, the subsidence of millions of erstwhile working women into 1950s-style domesticity—but Gregory sustains his optimism with the interesting though hardly self-evident suggestion that the ferment and advances of the contemporary generation of women may be traced quite directly to the experience of World War II. A host of important questions are ignored; above all, what was the actual meaning of this experience for the anonymous millions of women who did not figure in the propaganda articles or become

"Miss Victory Worker of 1944." Surely sources exist that would illuminate the varied human and psychological dimensions of this important episode in American social history, but they are absent here. A useful factual compilation, this book is nevertheless sadly disappointing.

PAUL BOYER
University of Massachusetts,
Amherst

JOHN JACOB BECK. *MacArthur and Wainwright: Sacrifice of the Philippines*. Foreword by CLARE BOOTHE LUCE. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1974. Pp. xix, 302. \$10.00.

This work is a revised, expanded version of a master's thesis that Beck, now a public school teacher of social studies and English in Ohio, wrote at the University of Toledo. It is essentially a narrative account of relations between the Philippine high command and the authorities in Washington during the tragic campaign in the Philippines, December 1941–May 1942.

Official messages are quoted in full frequently and constitute over a third of the text, yet Beck has avoided a scissors-and-paste effect by skillfully blending them into his own well-written portions to form a coherent, vivid story. Although he refrains from making evaluations in the text except for an all-too-brief critique in the final chapter, his footnotes contain pungent comments that might well have been incorporated in the main body.

Beck's research is thorough in his use of primary and secondary materials, and he has interviewed or corresponded with a considerable number of high-ranking participants in the planning and operations of the campaign. He has turned up no new startling evidence, but his presentation in full of so many of the messages between the Philippines and Washington is a significant contribution since a number of them had never appeared in print. The title of the book is misleading because there is little on the relationship between MacArthur and Wainwright, the focus instead being on the decision making that led to the sacrifice of the archipelago. It is unfortunate that Clare Boothe Luce wrote the foreword since her strongly pro-MacArthur, anti-Roosevelt opinions do not reflect the more objective, scholarly narrative that follows.

The text is free of major factual and typographical errors, and the fifty-five photographs are an excellent addition. Beck's work, though contributing little that is revisionist, is a worthwhile summary of the high command situation during the Philippine campaign of 1941–42 and

merits the attention of students of the war against Japan. Indeed, it is far better than would be expected of an expanded master's thesis with a foreword penned by Mrs. Luce.

D. CLAYTON JAMES
Mississippi State University

PETER LYON. *Eisenhower: Portrait of the Hero*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1974. Pp. xii, 937. \$15.00.

Books about General Eisenhower have gone through several cycles: I helped Eisenhower run the war and the White House; Eisenhower could do no wrong; Eisenhower the tool of his subordinates. Now we are beginning to get the story of an Eisenhower with muscles, but also an Eisenhower who as president added to world tension rather than relieving it.

Peter Lyon's volume, which has many good points, is for the most part kind to Eisenhower the general; it is far less generous to him as president. Without going beyond Stephen Ambrose's treatment of the supreme commander and the conclusions of the official army historians, Lyon makes clear that Eisenhower was far more than an amiable chairman of a board and that he was capable of making hard decisions when they had to be made. It is hard to fault the author's main conclusions. He is far more correct than Sir Basil Liddell Hart about the broad- versus narrow-front strategy in North-west Europe. Lyon had read carefully the official histories on this matter, while Liddell Hart in this case as in several others did not update conclusions he formed shortly after the war.

The author's treatment of Eisenhower's roles as U.S. Army Chief of Staff, president of Columbia, and Shape commander are too skimpy for a treatment of his full career. Lyon is effective in showing that the general, rather than being a creature of Secretary Dulles, Secretary Humphrey, and Sherman Adams, was an independent force in the White House. But Lyon spares Eisenhower the criticism of weakness while holding him responsible for a foreign policy designed mainly for the spread of American big business. For the most part Lyon follows the lines laid down by many of the revisionists. He has mined the published sources, effectively using some of Eisenhower's latter-day memoirs and personal correspondence against him, but often in dealing with controversial questions, Lyon has been tempted in the absence of official records to depend excessively on the accounts of opponents of Eisenhower's policy.

Readers willing to read two large books, Ambrose's *Supreme Commander: The War Years of General Dwight D. Eisenhower* (1970) and Herbert S. Parmet's *Eisenhower and the American Crusades* (1972), will find somewhat more balanced treatments of the two chief phases of Eisenhower's career. For the moment, however, Lyon's book is the best single volume to treat in detail the war period and the presidency.

FORREST C. POGUE
Arlington, Virginia

ALONZO L. HAMBY. *Beyond the New Deal: Harry S. Truman and American Liberalism*. (Contemporary American History Series.) New York: Columbia University Press. 1973. Pp. xx, 635. \$12.95.

In an attempt to discredit what he simplistically calls "The New Left" interpretation, Alonzo Hamby has filed a well-researched, occasionally critical brief for the politics and policies of the Truman administration. The book is controversial and will spark a many-sided debate among historians of cold-war America.

Although Hamby's efforts to buttress Truman's reputation are markedly tendentious, his scholarship is impressive and much of his analysis is quite valuable. One example of Hamby's good work is his useful recapitulation of the conflict in late 1946 and early 1947 between the followers of Henry Wallace and those liberals, such as Chester Bowles and Walter Reuther, who, by refusing to support the Popular front, made possible the creation of the Americans for Democratic Action (ADA). But, as Hamby points out, both groups had something in common: each had lost confidence in Truman because he appeared to lack a genuine commitment to "progressive" causes and because he seemed incapable of providing the kind of liberal leadership FDR ostensibly gave to domestic reform and to a responsible internationalism. Yet, argues Hamby, once the administration proposed the Marshall Plan, many liberals who otherwise could not support Truman began to fall in line, marking, then, the beginnings of a strained but oddly durable relationship, which in time would establish the ideological and political basis for the "Vital Center."

The events of 1948 signified a turning point in the early history of postwar liberalism. Wallace was now isolated, a victim of his own political obtuseness, Communist party machinations, and a bipartisan smear. Meanwhile, many members of the ADA, looking for survival, were praying that Dwight Eisenhower would say

yes. But once Truman was nominated, most liberals climbed aboard his campaign train for the duration. Truman's victory validated for ADA liberals arguments they made about the vitality of the domestic reform movement and the need to contain communism. Thus out of the crucible of presidential politics emerged the phenomenon of the Vital Center, which was, as Hamby makes clear, more of a "mood" than a program, a generalized theory of politics rather than a specific agenda for reform.

In addition to making some insightful comments about the politics of the Vital Center, the growth-oriented economics of Leon Keyserling, the failure of the Brannan Plan, the congressional demise of the Fair Deal, and the election of 1952, Hamby also discusses liberal responses to the Korean War. His evidence suggests that not only did liberals endorse Truman's intervention, they also embraced the "liberation" of the entire country well before General MacArthur marched across the thirty-eighth parallel.

In reality, then, the Korean War was an accurate reflection of the ideological commitments of American liberalism, as were the additional militarization of the American economy and the rearmament of Europe. Hamby himself admits that liberals could not challenge these policies of the administration because "most agreed with its basic goals and major techniques" (p. 440).

And is that not the point Hamby has made all along, namely that Truman and the Vital Center liberals came together because they had, to a large degree, common attitudes on domestic and international problems? A point Hamby does not make is that as a consequence of their agreement on policy and procedure, the Democratic party became a major political instrument for promoting interventionism abroad and military Keynesianism at home.

WILLIAM C. BERMAN
University of Toronto

JOHN SNETSINGER. *Truman, the Jewish Vote, and the Creation of Israel*. (Hoover Institution Studies 39.) Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University. 1974. Pp. xv, 208. \$6.95.

A. JOSEPH HECKELMAN. *American Volunteers and Israel's War of Independence*. New York: Ktav Publishing House. 1974. Pp. xxii, 304. \$12.50.

The definitive historical account of the creation of the modern state of Israel has not yet appeared. In their respective books John Snetsinger and A. Joseph Heckelman, focusing

mainly upon the critical time period from late 1947 through much of 1948, deal with different aspects of this complicated and multidimensional story. Each author contributes valuable information. They differ widely from one another, however, not only in subject matter discussed, but also in style and approach. Snetsinger makes the more significant, scholarly contribution.

Snetsinger's thesis is that Harry Truman was not necessarily committed to the Zionist, Jewish state concept, which became a reality. Rather, Truman vacillated greatly, in 1947 and 1948 and was motivated "primarily, if not solely, by political exigencies"; his approach was based upon "short-range political expediency" rather than upon "long-range national goals." Truman was most affected by domestic political considerations, put primarily by two close, pro-Zionist advisers—David Niles and Clark Gifford.

Gifford exerted the greatest influence upon Truman and was most responsible for United States policy in the Middle East in 1948. Interested in Jewish votes, Gifford persuaded Truman that, in order to acquire the backing of Jewish voters in the 1948 presidential election, the president had to be pro-Zionist. Truman, approaching the election, accepted Gifford's recommendations. The president thus moved away from a previously accepted United Nations trusteeship plan for Palestine, in which both Arab and Jewish areas would be protected. Truman, persuaded by Gifford, also recognized *de facto* the state of Israel at 6:11 P.M. on May 14, 1948, only eleven minutes after the state was newly proclaimed. Truman endorsed a loan to Israel, appointed a pro-Zionist ambassador, and stated publicly on October 24, 1948, that the United States should recognize *de jure* the new government of Israel.

That Truman had been an "unswerving supporter" of the Zionist Jewish state concept was contradicted, before publication of Snetsinger's book, by some material, recorded and previously published, in Truman's own memoirs, in the biography by Margaret Truman, and in certain documents contained in *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1917*, vol. 5 (1971). Utilizing and adding to the previously published material, Snetsinger convincingly shows that Truman was not such an "unswerving supporter" throughout all of 1947 and 1948 but ultimately did champion the Zionist cause for domestic political reasons.

Snetsinger presents a solid, well-researched, chronological analysis of Truman's policy

toward Palestine-Israel. His introductory remarks about Zionism and the Zionist movement, however, are spotty and incomplete; his treatment of Zionist pressuring in the United States during the period of scrutiny is sometimes inadequate. Nevertheless, Snetsinger adds a noteworthy chapter to the account of the creation of the state of Israel.

In his monograph A. Joseph Heckelman mostly discusses the overseas volunteers, nearly five thousand, who fought in "Israel's War of Independence." Additionally, Heckelman attempts to provide a contextual framework for the "war" and discusses certain technical, military developments, ranging from field operations to the smuggling of arms. Included in the account are brief biographies of each of the thirty-eight American and Canadian volunteers who lost their lives fighting.

Heckelman's contribution, even within the narrow confines of his study, is limited. His organization of material is at times difficult to follow. His bias is extreme. His choice of evidence is oversubjective; by his own admission he is illiterate in Arabic, and, therefore, "any presentation of the Arab viewpoint is, at best, second-hand." Heckelman, who was an overseas volunteer, presents a praising, apologetic, largely noncritical story of his former colleagues. As a self-declared pro-Zionist advocate, moreover, he argues a strongly partisan case in discussing the fighting in Palestine-Israel in 1947, 1948, and 1949. Heckelman's bias is clear, for example, in his discussion of the military operation at the Arab village of Deir Yassin on April 9, 1948. Presenting sparse evidence, he argues that the killings there were unfortunate but understandable results of a necessary military operation. Others, including participants and scholars, argue with evidence that the civilian killings were unnecessary. Heckelman's book abounds with other examples of partisan bias. His monograph is more one of advocacy than of scholarship.

NORTON MEZVINSKY

Central Connecticut State College

WALTER JOHNSON *et al.*, editors. *The Papers of Adlai E. Stevenson*. Volume 4, "Let's Talk Sense to the American People," 1952-1955. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1974. Pp. xiii, 628. \$17.50.

For Adlai Stevenson the years 1952-55 represented a high point of triumph and frustration: triumph, by reason of the winning of the nomination in 1952, but still more by reason of

the sustained level of his election campaign; frustration because of the burden of responsibility without power imposed on a leader of the loyal opposition in a system that makes no explicit provision for such a role. To many readers this volume will evoke memories of a period when their support for a presidential candidate reached a peak of personal and intellectual identification that has not been rivaled since. They in particular will look in these pages for clues to the elusive Adlai behind the speeches and the photographs.

It is no reflection on the editors that they will not find many such clues here. The "Gethsemane" sequence in the acceptance speech, so anomalously tasteless then, becomes no more comprehensible here in its author's defense of it to a frank critic. In all the letters—and there are a great many—to fans and friends there is more often a graceful turning away from the embarrassment of adulation than any hint of the private sources of his own anxieties and indecisions. But what does come through in the occasional letters to intimates is the loneliness and weariness of a man carrying private and public burdens supported neither by the comfort of a family nor by the apparatus of a public office.

The editors' problems of selection are intensified in this volume. As the scale of their subject has expanded from the state governor to the national politician, so the problem of distinguishing what the man wrote for himself and others wrote for him mounts proportionately. Most readers will endorse the editors' choices—a judicious selection of speeches (one welcomes especially some of the less well known, like the tribute to Phil Murray or the talk on the reputation of government), a nearly comprehensive inclusion of personal letters, the précis of incoming letters that evoke replies, and, as always, a generous but discriminating provision of background information. Once again both editors and bookmakers merit praise for a handsome and enjoyable production.

H. G. NICHOLAS
New College,
Oxford

FRANCIS M. WILHOIT. *The Politics of Massive Resistance*. New York: George Braziller. 1973. Pp. 320. Cloth \$8.95, paper \$3.95.

Although this book had its genesis in a 1958 political science dissertation at Harvard, it is not meant primarily for scholars. Professor

Wilhoit, a North Carolinian now teaching at Drake University in Iowa, tells us that he wrote it for the general reader. Historians and scholars of allied disciplines—as well as journalists who have covered the civil rights beat—will understand Wilhoit's meaning, for there is little here that is not already well known and, as a matter of fact, rather better and more felicitously explained in other works.

Describing briefly the emergence of the movement of massive resistance to the Brown decision and then, in almost annalistic fashion, tracing its strategy and tactics through its principal crises, Wilhoit offers an interpretation of what he calls the ideology of massive resistance, and he comments on the forces, both national and regional, that he believes contributed to both its rise and ultimate demise. These are ambitious and laudable goals, but by setting his sights on the "general reader," he denies himself use of the rich materials needed to deal adequately with the questions he raises. The great mass of primary materials—field reports from various civil rights agencies, publications of the citizens' councils, a variety of fugitive pamphlet literature, newspapers other than those provided by the Southern Education Reporting Service clippings, not to mention interviews with the many survivors—are not touched.

What emerges, then, is an attempt to synthesize and interpret for the general reader material for the most part already well known. Apart from a few slips, the factual reporting is accurate enough, but there are flaws that any reader, general or otherwise, will regret. For one thing, Wilhoit's tendency to jargon and verbosity will discourage all but the most persistent and curious. Consider, for example, a representative sentence: "The hallowed legacy of saints and martyrs, the strategic initiatives of the tutelary geniuses, the tactical innovations of the charismatic demagogues, the expedient ploys of the pragmatists, and the rationalizing propaganda of the ideologues, all interacted and finally coalesced in a backlash synergism."

When the prose does not soar it too often resembles the textbook or the encyclopedia as one complex issue after another is reduced to a series of well-outlined "points." Thus ten propositions "illustrate the core of the myth" of states' rights federalism, eight conclusions follow from an analysis of the citizens' councils, sixteen from the Little Rock confrontation, and five from New Orleans, while there are ten reasons given for the demise of massive resistance.

PAUL M. GASTON
University of Virginia

STAUGHTON LYNDE, editor. *American Labor Radicalism: Testimonies and Interpretations*. (Wiley Sourcebooks in American Social Thought.) New York: John Wiley and Sons. 1973. Pp. 217. Cloth \$7.95, paper \$4.50.

Is American labor class conscious? Staughton Lynd has assembled thirteen selections dealing with the question of whether American unions have been or can be a force for social revolution. The conventional view, expressed in a brilliant excerpt from Selig Perlman's *Theory of the Labor Movement* (1928), is that American labor is the least class-conscious labor movement in the world. Lynd himself seems to admit regretfully that most American unions have concentrated on such specific gains as shorter hours, higher wages, and better working conditions. These unions are interested in a bigger piece of the capitalist pie rather than in social revolution. Unions, enmeshed in collective bargaining, have become a tool of capitalism by disciplining rank-and-file members in order to enforce contracts that have been negotiated.

But Lynd argues that the radical spirit of American labor is not dead. Most of the thirteen readings illustrate the allegedly class-conscious stirrings among American workers. The readings themselves are fascinating. If they are meant to shake the complacency of the "establishment" historians, they certainly achieve their purpose, and they illuminate corners of labor history that are often neglected. The selections examine topics such as the deadening effect of mass production, revolts against union leadership, the organization of farmworkers and other supposedly "unorganizable" workers, wildcat strikes, and repudiation of contracts negotiated by leadership.

The book leaves the reader, however, with a one-sided view. For example, Stanley Weir, in a penetrating article on rank-and-file labor rebellions, makes much of the fact that in the 1960s workers began to reject contracts negotiated for them by their leaders. He sees such rejections as a sign that workers no longer accepted only substantial wage increases but were determined to fight for such class-conscious objectives as job dignity and control of the work place. There is undoubtedly a kernel of truth in this thesis, but mediators for the U.S. Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service express the opinion, based on first-hand experience, that an overwhelming majority of contract rejections were caused by such issues as wages, pensions, vacations, overtime, and reports that other unions had made bigger economic gains. In only a small percentage of cases were con-

tracts rejected by membership because of management prerogatives, grievance procedure, and working conditions, which might be interpreted as revealing class-consciousness. The author, writing in 1967, could argue that such rejections were on the rise, but his prediction proved wrong, for membership rejections dropped in the late 1960s and early 1970s. They may rise again in the mid-1970s, but if so, it will probably be for the economic reason that the cost of living is increasing faster than wages.

The book is a credit to the editor because it reveals his social idealism and his understanding of rank-and-file workers. It has great value for those with enough knowledge of labor history to retain a balanced view. But the book should be read cautiously because, as the title indicates, the "testimonies and interpretations" in the book are indeed "radical."

JONATHAN GROSSMAN

U.S. Department of Labor

JOHN STAPLES SHOCKLEY. *Chicano Revolt in a Texas Town*. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 1974. Pp. xii, 302. Cloth \$9.95, paper \$3.95.

The political manifestations of the Chicano movement have been observed more for their notoriety than for serious objective analysis. Since the early 1960s, Anglos and Chicanos have had numerous confrontations over the issues of education, economic opportunity, and political reform. The events surrounding the Chicano "takeover" of Crystal City, Texas, deserve our attention; more than a prototype of changes to come, unique in its own controversy, Crystal City symbolizes the vitality and potential inherent in the Chicano movement.

It is fortunate that the political crucible of Crystal City has so soon been made the subject of a capable study. Shockley interviewed dozens of residents of Crystal City, mined the local newspapers, and utilized a number of regional studies for his account of how Crystal City evolved from a town under Anglo political control to a government by and for Chicanos. In his analysis of the history of the town (the "spinach capital of the world"), Shockley notes that Crystal City was not typical of other south Texas cities. Created in the twentieth century, Crystal City was long the personal domain of an Anglo minority controlling a large Chicano majority, in a manner akin to the political system in South Africa. In 1963, as a political fluke, a Chicano slate captured the city council. Unprepared for the victory, the Chicanos soon

succumbed to an awakened Anglo opposition. Events throughout the Southwest in the 1960s included Crystal City again when in 1969 students staged a massive protest over the imperious methods by which Anglos maintained control of education and social status. The second revolt, however, was carefully organized by José Angel Gutiérrez and his fledgling La Raza Unida party. In 1970 and afterward Chicanos won succeeding victories at the polls, capturing the city council and school board and challenging the Anglo power structure at the county level.

Shockley's study is objective in the extreme as he attempts to illustrate both sides of the controversy. His scholarly pace in detailing particular events reduces the dramatic impact those events must have had. Nevertheless, his analysis of why the Anglos lost political control of Crystal City and why the feat probably cannot be duplicated elsewhere in Texas is informed and lucid. It is painfully obvious through hindsight that Anglo efforts to improve the social, political, and economic position of the Chicanos of Crystal City were at best minimal and as often as not were insincere. For those who proclaim in theory the virtues of a pluralistic society but do not practice what they preach, the lessons of Crystal City will be particularly valuable.

ABRAHAM HOFFMAN
Los Angeles Valley College

CANADA

FERNAND DUMONT *et al.*, editors. *Idéologies au Canada français*. [Volume 1,] 1850-1900; [volume 2,] 1900-1929. (Histoire et sociologie de la culture, 1 and 5.) Quebec: Presses de l'Université Laval; distrib. by International Scholarly Book Services, Portland, Ore. 1971; 1974. Pp. ix, 327; 377. \$10.00 each.

Most of the articles in these books are the product of a series of seminars held a few years ago at Laval University. The research was done and the essays written by graduate students in history and sociology who were then working under the academic supervision of the editors. The central purpose of the seminars was to explore the development since the mid-nineteenth century of the major ideological positions articulated by various groups or classes in Francophone Quebec. The results are half realized with the appearance of these books and will be fully achieved by the publication of two additional volumes later.

The papers in these first volumes are organized so as to trace two antithetical intellectual traditions within the community. Secular, sometimes democratic, liberalism is presented through editorial analyses of successive newspapers: *L'Avenir* (1850), *Le Pays* (1860), *La Lanterne* (1870), *La Patrie* (1880), *L'Union* (1904), and *Le Canada* (1920). The content of the tradition is enriched by an account of L.-O. David's reflections on the economic inferiority of French Canadians and by an excellent treatment by Jacques Rouillard of trade-union political activity in Montreal, 1899-1915.

Ultramontanism is conveyed similarly. There are analyses of *Les Mélanges religieux*, *La Gazette des Campagnes*, *Le Nouveau Monde*, *Le Courrier du Canada*, *La Croix*, and *L'Action catholique*. Here the mix is thickened by essays examining Bishop Laflèche, the popularizing priest Zacharie Lacasse, Henri Bourassa, Mgr. L.-A. Paquet, the *Annales* of the Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste, and the origin of the Association catholique de la jeunesse canadienne-française.

Characteristically, the articles are straightforward accounts that, within the limitations laid down by the editors, are competently, sometimes excellently, done. As a comment on their general level, it might be pointed out that many, perhaps most, of the authors have since gone on to academic careers of their own. Yet whatever the quality of the individual pieces, taken collectively they do not constitute an intellectual history of the period. Quite apart from criticisms of detail, the main shortcoming of the books is that the ideologies that are examined are not closely integrated with a description of their social context. There are indeed very good editorial essays in each volume that provide a picture of the economic and social development of the province, and there are articles by Professor Dumont that attempt to relate the intellectual traditions and the changes they underwent to social reality. But, while these prefatory articles are of some assistance, in the end the attempt is more provocative than satisfactory.

This point is important because the editors confess to be interested primarily in what is called in one place the "sociologie des connaissances." The questions they set out to answer are precisely those connected with the area of interplay between social reality and ideological formulation. That is, how have systems of ideas been related to the material conditions of existence in French Canada? Clearly this is perhaps the most difficult task that historians and so-

ciologists face in any society, and this is why the most controversial parts of the books are Professor Dumont's introductory essays. In the space of some twenty-five pages, he raises for argument far more questions than he settles: Did French Canadians really live in a "folk society" after 1850? What were the limits of clerical influence? Was ultramontane ideology truly dominant? If so, was it because this formulation offered justification for, and consolation to, the society? Is it true that French Canadians could not recognize themselves in the material conditions of early industrialization? If this was true, did it have the results that Dumont suggests? Who, after all, listened to the ideologues? What effect did their words have?

That they raise so many questions may be the most valuable thing about the books. When it is completed, of course, the series will be the most ambitious yet attempted in Quebec; and, at the least, it will be an invaluable guide to the intellectual life of more than a century of French-Canadian history. But it is probably more important as a catalyst—the attempt of the editors to fuse ideology and society cannot fail to arouse dissent, inspire research, and invite refutation and reformulation.

H. E. TURNER
McMaster University

MARC LA TERREUR. *Les tribulations des conservateurs au Québec: De Bennett à Diefenbaker*. Quebec: Presses de l'Université Laval; distrib. by International Scholarly Book Services, Portland, Ore. 1973. Pp. 265. \$6.75.

It is a commonplace of Canadian political history that Quebec is the bastion of the federal Liberal party. The province has returned a Liberal majority to Ottawa in every federal election over the last three-quarters of a century with the single exception of the Diefenbaker landslide in 1958. It is more than a coincidence that the Liberal party has been in office for all but twenty years in this period.

The author has not attempted to trace the origins of the Conservative decline in Quebec. He begins in 1927, long after the Laurier coalition, the debacle of the *Autonomistes*, and the bitter conscription controversies of 1917. His focus is on the English-speaking leaders of a predominantly English-speaking Conservative party and their failure to regain the confidence of the French-Canadian voters. It is a pathetic story of insensitivity and political stupidity, of an inability to realize that there were two cultural blocs in Canada, much less to devise a political strategy to respond to this reality. It

would be a tragic tale if it was not so pathetic.

The Conservative party changed leaders frequently; six were tried and found wanting during the thirty-six years covered in this volume. They differed in temperament and ability, but in three crucial areas of politics, they either ignored the French-Canadian minority or were unable to modify the traditional policies of the party. The Conservative party was seen by French Canadians as the spokesman of big business, English in language, and materialistic in philosophy. R. B. Bennett seemed to fit the stereotype perfectly. R. J. Manion and John Diefenbaker did not, but there was always convincing evidence to suggest that they were not in control. The party had also long been identified with loyalty to the empire. On this issue the leaders not only failed to convince French Canadians that the party had changed, but the fulsome rhetoric about the Crown and the Union Jack, as well as the wartime policy of conscription, confirmed the suspicion that the Conservative party was the party of empire. Finally, on the issue of minority representation in government and in the public service, the six leaders continued to justify the English-Canadian monopoly of key positions by references to merit, impervious to the argument that a knowledge of the French language and French-Canadian culture should be factors in assessing merit. It is not surprising that by 1963 Conservative support in the province of Quebec was even lower than it had been in 1927.

Professor La Terreur has used the available private papers and newspaper sources to provide a great deal of new material on the internal politics of the Conservative party. He has documented not only the inability of Conservative leaders to appreciate the French-Canadian point of view but also the frustrations of the French Canadians within the Conservative party. Those who challenged the traditional norms of the party were shunted aside; the sycophants were rewarded with honorific appointments but exercised no power.

Many questions are still unanswered. How did the party of Macdonald and Cartier lose the confidence of French Canada? How did the Liberal party gain and retain this confidence? Why did an average of one out of every three voters in the province continue to support the Conservative party despite its tribulations? But these questions are no more than a reminder of how little is known about political parties in Canada. This volume is a significant contribution to our knowledge.

H. BLAIR NEATBY
Carleton University

LATIN AMERICA

MARCELLO CARMAGNANI. *Les mécanismes de la vie économique dans une société coloniale: Le Chili (1680-1830)*. (École Pratique des Hautes Études—VI^e Section. Centre de Recherches Historiques. Monnaie, prix, conjoncture, 11.) Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1973. Pp. 392. 98 fr.

This remarkable and significant case study of a colonial economy is divided into three parts. First, Carmagnani examines the effects of dominant outside demand centers—Peru, then Western Europe via Spain, then Western Europe directly—on the export and import trades of the three regions that made up colonial Chile. Then he studies the effects of these same dominant external markets on internal commerce in the same three regions—La Serena, Santiago-Valparaíso, and Concepción. In part 3 Carmagnani turns to an analysis of the impact of these outside markets on the productive abilities and totals and structures of the industries and trades of Chile. He pays particular attention to agriculture, especially wheat, to stock raising, mining, and the primary export and local commercial industries, and in each part of the book he studies these different types of external pressure on each of the three regions.

The author supplements an extremely high level of theoretical argument and analytical clarity with an abundance of charts and other supportive materials, most of them from the tax collection series in the Contaduría section of the national archives in Santiago, and from the quantitative materials in Contratación and Contaduría in the archive of the Indies in Seville.

It would be impossible to outline such a complex group of theses in the space available here, but what emerges most clearly is that the author feels that the process whereby a dependent colonial market economy is formed, while more or less composed of the same elements as those which come together to form a national capitalist economy, is in such a different conjunction and happens under such individual circumstances that the colonial economy emerges as a unique entity and must be studied as such.

Emphasized throughout the book is the pervasiveness of the dominance of the external markets. Not only do they weld together regional markets previously of comparative self-sufficiency, but they destroy their relative equality. Santiago, with a small commercial class already in existence, becomes the agent of these external power centers, and, acting as a satellite, in turn depresses the two other regions to

peripheral status. The structure of prices and economic activities is dominated by foreign demand. Local trades, artisans, and industries survive to the extent that they do not offer competition to the outside power centers. Political independence, in Chile at least, means that the restraining effects of Spanish monopolistic exclusivism is destroyed. From then on the dominant foreign markets, especially England, are able to do without the help of the local commercial classes to an increasing degree, and they insert their own agents into local trade and mining.

The dysfunctional imbalances inherent in a colonial economy are shown to be of great perdurability. In fact it is obvious that Carmagnani feels that in many ways he is explaining the Chile—and indeed Latin America—of today. This excellent book should become essential reading for all interested in colonialism, dependency, and underdevelopment.

MURDO J. MACLEOD

University of Pittsburgh

E. V. NIEMEYER, JR. *Revolution at Querétaro: The Mexican Constitutional Convention of 1916-1917*. (Latin American Monographs, number 33, Institute of Latin American Studies, University of Texas at Austin.) Austin: University of Texas Press, for the Institute. 1974. Pp. xiii, 297. \$10.00.

Most historians of Mexico concur that the Constitution of 1917 served to legitimate the new regime after seven years of violence. Some take the revisionist stance that the Constitutionalist triumph signified more the illusion of progress than a real advance toward social equity, but E. V. Niemeyer, Jr. is not one of them. He holds to a more conventional position. Maintaining that historians can understand the Mexican Revolution only "in terms of the iniquity of the *porfiriato*," he regards the Querétaro Convention as "the most important single event of the Mexican Revolution" because it provided "the legal foundation for the greatest transformation experienced by the Mexican people since the Conquest."

By examining the debates in the convention and the roles of principal participants, Niemeyer illuminates the process by which the ideology of the Mexican Revolution took shape in the Constitution of 1917. The delegates, more instinctual than learned, more "provincial" than "sophisticated," more "pragmatic" than "theoretical," embraced goals such as anticlericalism, labor welfare, agrarian reform, and national independence. Although traditional

liberals repeatedly clashed with radicals over the rights of individuals and the role of the state, Niemeyer characterizes their "disagreement" as a matter "more of degree than of substance." The majority asserted an active conception of the state. They also represented a broad sample of Mexican society and usually acted independently of established leaders. Venustiano Carranza accepted the constitution, although several provisions exceeded his wishes, probably because he had "little influence" over the outcome.

Through the use of traditional methods the author convincingly defends his view that complex voting alignments defied easy categorization. Niemeyer rejects the notion that a fundamental division split military radicals from civilian moderates. He also modifies the image of Alvaro Obregón as *éminence grise*. Most Mexicanists will welcome this study, although some will question whether the attribution of "humanitarian motives" sufficiently explains the actions of the delegates. Carranza's role also retains its ambiguity. A fuller exploration of ideological and class relationships in the pre-constitutional period could have provided more depth and perspective. Nevertheless this solid account, the first in English, fulfills the author's modest intention of recording "the unfolding of ideas" and showing "how the ideals of the Mexican Revolution were written into fundamental law."

MARK T. GILDERHUS
Colorado State University

DAVID C. BAILEY. *¡Viva Cristo Rey! The Cristero Rebellion and the Church-State Conflict in Mexico*. (Texas Pan American Series.) Austin: University of Texas Press. 1974. Pp. xiii, 346. \$10.00.

The Church-state conflict and the rebellion of the Cristeros—"the supporters of Christ"—from 1926 to 1929, remains one of the most controversial topics in the history of modern Mexico. Professor David C. Bailey has written the most satisfactory account to date of that bloody religious war, and he is to be commended for striking an effective balance between objective reporting and analysis. He has done extensive research in Mexico and in the United States to construct his narrative. The basic sources used were the collections of the National League for the Defense of Religious Liberty in Mexico as well as other private manuscript collections, and the records of the Department of State relating to the internal affairs of Mexico, 1910–29, in the National Archives

in Washington, D.C. Professor Bailey provides three well-focused background chapters on the ancestry of conflict between the Roman Catholic Church and the Mexican state before he launches into his detailed treatment of the Cristero Rebellion. What follows are well-researched and lucidly written accounts of the major events and characters in the struggle, especially the career of Cristero leader Capistrán Garza, the controversial episodes dealing with the execution of Father Miguel Pro, and the trial of José de León Torral and Madre Concha for the assassination of President Alvaro Obregón in 1928. The book ends with agreements from 1929 that led to a *modus vivendi* between the government and the hierarchy and the good offices of the United States ambassador, Dwight W. Morrow, in helping to ameliorate the struggle. Both the role of Morrow and the Vatican in reaching the final agreements are examined in detail. A final chapter on the uneasy truce between Church and state and renewed civil strife in the 1930s completes this fine study. An important bibliographical essay on manuscript sources and a full bibliography of works cited greatly enhance the value of the book.

RICHARD E. GREENLEAF
Tulane University

THOMAS E. SKIDMORE. *Black into White: Race and Nationality in Brazilian Thought*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1974. Pp. xvi, 299. \$10.00.

Interpretations of Brazilian slavery, abolition, and race relations have been significantly revised since the 1950s. The so-called São Paulo school, for example, under the seminal influence of Florestan Fernandes, laid to rest the myth of the Brazilian "racial democracy," while studies by Marvin Harris, Emilia Viotti da Costa, and others demolished the concomitant myth of the "kindly master." Thomas Skidmore's splendid book is within this revisionist vein. It is the first comprehensive analysis of Brazilian elite thought about race and a major contribution to the study of Brazilian intellectual history.

Race as an intellectual problem, according to Skidmore, was practically nonexistent in Brazil prior to 1888, the year slavery was officially abolished, nor did attention focus on the possible connection between multiracialism and the nation's future development. Racist theories, however, were in vogue in Europe and the United States, whose writers and visitors frequently vilified Brazil's multiracial makeup and

the preponderance of miscegenation. The Brazilian elite, highly sensitive to this criticism and imitative of European cultural and social models, was thus challenged to examine its own heritage: was Brazil's racially mixed society indeed doomed to "inferiority," incapable of progress, modernization, even nationhood?

Skidmore argues that the elite ultimately reconciled contemporary European criticism with the Brazilian reality by developing "whitening" as an ideal. This concept rested on implicitly racist assumptions: the "white" race was not only accepted as "more advanced," while "Caucasian" physical characteristics earned social prestige, but it was also assumed that the "superior" race would steadily assimilate the "inferior races" within Brazil, ultimately erasing them from the population. Miscegenation, in this construct, was seen not as an end in itself—a manifestation of Brazilian "racial democracy"—and lack of prejudice—but as a transition to a culturally superior and physically whiter Brazil. Brazilian immigration policy, which favored Europeans and discriminated against Africans and, to a lesser extent, Asians, was similarly linked to this whitening ideal.

Skidmore's identification of whitening as the dominant strand in Brazilian elite thought about race until the 1950s is persuasive, given his skillful and intelligent use of a wide variety of sources and his inclusion of a series of intellectual portraits of elite members to illustrate his analysis. By not exploring and developing alternate strands in Brazilian racial thought with the same degree of thoroughness, however, he has left room for future research. In the decade before the abolition of slavery, for instance, the poet and satirist Luiz Gama and the journalist-politician José de Patrocínio—both dark mulattoes who would qualify as members of the elite under Skidmore's definition—did capitalize on their racial identity in writing and speeches and attempted to mobilize antislavery support on the basis of nonwhite solidarity. Leaders of the Brazilian Negro Front in the 1920s and 1930s, the Negro Experimental Theater in the 1940s and early 1950s, and a number of Afro-Brazilian cultural and self-help organizations did likewise. While it is undoubtedly true, as Skidmore asserts, that black nationalism and "negritude" have been particularly ineffectual in Brazil as a counter to whitening, he is less than convincing in explaining why and how black and mulatto intellectuals were socialized not only to tolerate but even to endorse the whitening ideal.

LEO SPITZER
Dartmouth College

FRANK D. MCCANN, JR. *The Brazilian-American Alliance, 1937-1945*. [Princeton:] Princeton University Press. 1973. Pp. xiv, 527. \$18.50.

Against a broad background of the political and economic events during a critical period in world, United States, and Brazilian history, Professor McCann details the intimate relations between an omnipotent metropolis and its eager but sensitive South American client. The elaborate maneuvering between the two during that eight-year period tightened Brazil's dependency. The United States appears to have been amazingly successful in imposing its will, while Brazil seems to have failed repeatedly to seize some of the opportunities it had to exert more independence and to reap some material and psychological advantages.

Those versed in the history of the diplomatic relations between the two nations inevitably will want to compare Oswaldo Aranha's stewardship of the foreign office with that of the baron of Rio-Branco, whose decade as foreign minister, 1902-12, marked another significant period of approximation with the United States. As the author suggests, there are many striking similarities. But there is a major difference: Rio-Branco enjoyed far greater success in manipulating the United States for Brazil's own goals, a skill Aranha seldom revealed.

The book concentrates considerable attention on the Força Expedicionária Brasileira (FEB)—on its origins, experience in the Italian campaign, political significance, and impact on Brazil. To the FEB experience the author attributes two important but superficially inconsistent events in Brazil's modern history: the toppling of Getúlio Vargas with the restoration of democracy in 1945 and the overthrow of João Goulart to impose a brutal military dictatorship in 1964. A common cord could tie together those events, but perhaps that would take the reader beyond the scope of this diplomatic study.

Obviously an intrepid explorer of public and private archives, McCann has marshaled an impressive array of documentation in his lengthy book. Much to his credit, he occasionally moves beyond the word, written and oral, to use music and the image as proper sources. One of the footnotes even refers to a film, *Orfeu Negro*, as a suitable source. Such a pioneering spirit is commendable, but one wishes that he had explored film archives because they contain some significant data for him. I am thinking particularly of the 1944 March of Time documentary entitled *Brazil*, which exposed millions of North Americans to Brazil. It chronicled the changing United States attitude toward Brazil, one of the

book's concerns. As McCann stated in his text, "The Natal Conference marked a shift in U.S. policy toward Brazil" (p. 351). The film emphatically demonstrated it: Vargas emerges as a populist leader worthy of marching with the United States toward victory over the Axis. That film—and others carried the same message—unmistakably endorsed the metropolis-client relationship: Brazil would supply raw materials while the United States furnished technicians and financing. The scenes of Vargas interacting with statesmen and crowds provide a dimension of that complex leader no written document can hope to equal. Since traditional research has become so sophisticated, as ably demonstrated by McCann himself, it is now time for scholars to consider less conventional but equally rewarding sources, and the value and importance of the documentary film and newsreel should be obvious. That filmic source could have provided an additional depth to this useful diplomatic study, and it behooves researchers on all twentieth-century topics to begin to explore it.

E. BRADFORD BURNS
University of California,
Los Angeles

THOMAS C. BRUNEAU. *The Political Transformation of the Brazilian Catholic Church*. (Perspectives on Development.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1974. Pp. xiv, 270. Cloth \$16.50, paper \$6.95.

This volume joins the relatively limited shelf of scholarly writing on the Catholic Church in Latin America. Not only have historians and social scientists slighted the role of the Church, but a disproportionate amount of recent research seems to have been devoted to studies of Protestantism in a region nominally ninety-five per cent Catholic. Bruneau chides his colleagues for accepting the explanation that the Latin American Catholic Church has remained stable for so long that it has come to be regarded as a constant, and thereby uninteresting for study. Surely few accept this lame characterization; yet the literature remains sparse.

Bruneau's clear and literate treatment of the institutional role of the Brazilian Church links that less-than-monolithic body to the larger issues of modernization, social mobilization, political resistance, and institutional dynamics in an era of social conflict. He focuses on the period after 1950, principally since 1964, when the top hierarchy of the Church stood with the right wing of the armed forces against the unstable and left-leaning civilian regime, toppling it and leaving a sizable minority of Catholic

clergy and laity to be identified foremost among those deemed enemies of the so-called Revolution of 1964. The fate of these social progressives has been ugly. Prior to the *golpe*, the Church—cautiously at first and later with growing momentum—had cast off its neo-orthodox cloak, which it had taken up during the 1930s in its successful campaign to restore the unity of Church and state. By 1959 Brazil's bishops gingerly sanctioned the establishment of MEB (Campaign for Basic Education), a nationwide program to combat illiteracy and social inertia through a process its authors called *conscientização*, a form of social and religious consciousness raising aided by modern methods of instruction. But Church leaders failed to stand behind MEB and rural unionization, measures that were labeled subversive after 1964 and swept away posthaste under the authoritarian military regime.

The Political Transformation of the Brazilian Catholic Church offers a cogent analysis of the institutional Brazilian Church during the last twenty years. It should be complemented by further studies on the historical role of Catholicism in Brazilian life. After all, in Brazil, the most populous Catholic country in the world, the term "practicing Catholic" is a mark of distinction; yet Catholicism has undergone a steady and precipitous erosion of traditional influence there, losing ground especially among rural peasants and the urban lower classes to the diligent Pentecostal missionaries who have followed the influx of foreigners since the Second World War. Rural northeasterners have relegated the Christ figure to that of a *santo*, lumped together indiscriminately with such other hagiographic personages as Saint Cosme, believed to exert influence over hemorrhages; Saint Cipriano, to be approached for luck in the lottery and for success with women; and Saint Francisco, provider to the hungry.

Bruneau's use of documentation is judicious; his discussion of the Brazilian Church as cautious promotor of social change and his analysis of the episcopacy are valuable. The book lacks jargon. The author demonstrates successfully that the crucial question in relation to the direction and nature of the Brazilian Church is political. He reminds us that adoption of a revolutionary mission does not necessarily mean that a revolution can be expected momentarily. In Brazil, conflict between Church and state has become a social fact and thereby a barometer of the availability and distribution of power.

ROBERT M. LEVINE
State University of New York,
Stony Brook

Communications

A communication will be considered only if it relates to an article or review published in this journal; publication of such a communication or of any part of it is solely at the editors' discretion. Limitations of space require that a communication, whether concerning articles, review articles, or reviews, be no longer than 300 words. The schedule of publication and the time needed to send a communication to the author of the article or review in question for such reply as he may care to make virtually preclude the possibility of publication in the issue following that in which the original article or review appeared. Unless, in the editors' judgment, some major scholarly purpose is served, rejoinders will not be published.

TO THE EDITOR:

Evidently convinced that no historical work can be truly significant unless it displays currently fashionable quantitative techniques, David Curtis Skaggs contemptuously dismisses my *Dorr Rebellion: A Study in American Radicalism, 1833-1849* (*AHR*, 80 [1975]: 184-85) as making "little substantive contribution to our understanding of Jacksonian America or of any radical tradition." Furthermore, I am accused of simple-minded partisanship for Thomas Dorr and his "avid followers," as well as failure to link Dorrite ideology to the American Revolution or to trends in antebellum political life.

Against the advice of friends and colleagues, I must pound my typewriter a bit in protest. I insist that I do show links between the Rhode Island upheaval of the 1840s and the American Revolution, presenting extensive evidence drawn from manuscript, newspaper, and pamphlet sources. Nor am I an uncritical posthumous partisan of the Dorrite rebels. I take great pains to analyze their ideological and tactical shortcomings, even at one point warning present-day radicals against emulating them (p. xxii). A reader who manages, after Skaggs's

hostile review, to turn to my book may be pleasantly surprised to find extended treatment of political-party evolution in Rhode Island, as well as the important developments in constitutional law that flowed from the Dorr Rebellion (especially the *Luther v. Borden* cases).

Whatever validity there is in Skaggs's charges lies in the area of methodology. Reviewing my book in tandem with Ronald Formisano's study of Michigan politics, Skaggs correctly points out that I attempted nothing really comparable to Formisano's sophisticated quantitative analysis. Unabashedly I admit that my book on the Dorr Rebellion is a narrative study. In it I did, however, attempt to analyze the changing social composition of the Rhode Island radical movement, and many hours were spent before an electronic calculator in this effort. Now a devoted disciple of Lee Benson may indeed overlook my seven quantitative "social profile" tables, but (if I may paraphrase a contemporary opponent of Dorr) tho' they may be small, there are those among us who cherish them.

As an admirer of some products of the new quantitative historiography, I can unhesitatingly recommend Rhode Island as a promising field for historians who, unlike myself, do sophisticated computer analysis. We can learn much from such studies, but to display such fanatical attachment to quantitative history, and to the uncritical use of dubious "paradigms" from political science as Skaggs does, is to be blinded to the value of narrative history. Such blindness would further impoverish historical studies in the United States.

MARVIN E. GETTLEMAN
*Polytechnic Institute of
New York*

PROFESSOR SKAGGS REPLIES:

Professor Gettleman's attribution to me of a "fanatical attachment to quantitative history"

is not justifiable in view of my scholarly contributions, most of which are narrative in character. Nor did I ever accuse him of "simple-minded partisanship." My charge is that neither Gettleman's narrative, which I called "the best available description of the Rhode Island affair," nor his quantitative research supports his basic thesis that "the nation's revolutionary beginnings transmitted an undercurrent of genuine radicalism" to "antebellum American political life." To test this judgment I invite those so inclined to read *The Dorr Rebellion*.

DAVID CURTIS SKAGGS
Bowling Green State University

TO THE EDITOR:

Jane Abray's excellent article, "Feminism in the French Revolution" (*AHR*, 80 [1975]: 43-62), might have drawn more insight into the reasons for Jacobin antifeminism from Crane Brinton's *The Jacobins* (1930) and Marc Bouloiseau's *La République jacobine* (1972), than from Alfred Cobban's *Social Interpretation of the French Revolution* (1968), whose thesis she seems to adopt in her conclusion. Jacobin antifeminism seems more related to Jacobin puritanism than Jacobin social conservatism. As Brinton and Bouloiseau amply document, the Jacobins were generally hostile to bachelors, single unmarried individuals, and found the ideal social unit in the faithful married couple with a modest self-earned income. In my opinion, Abray errs in linking antifeminism to a "social conservatism of this essentially political upheaval" (p. 62). The Jacobin view of the family and the woman was revolutionary, not of course in view of what followed in nineteenth- and twentieth-century feminist movements, but in view of what Jacobins saw preceding the Revolution: the marital decadence of the French aristocracy.

EMMET KENNEDY
George Washington University

MS. ABRAY REPLIES:

Emmet Kennedy quite correctly draws attention to the wider perspective of a "Jacobin mentality" within which antifeminism may be evaluated. I doubt, however, if the feminists would have distinguished between "puritanism" and "social conservatism"—to them the problem was another aspect of "despotism" and "tyranny." Since the status the Jacobins assigned to women was so much more traditional than that sought by the feminists, the Jacobins can be described as "conservatives" on this issue. Just as the

enragés sought to go beyond the Jacobin program, so too did their sometime allies, the feminists.

JANE ABRAY
Yale University

TO THE EDITOR:

Please allow me to comment on a few of the points Michael Winston makes in his review of my book, *Ebony Kinship* (*AHR*, 80 [1975]: 523). He takes issue with my assertion, an "astonishing" one in his judgment, that Harlem is the heart of black America. Allegedly, I am guilty of presenting sporadic Harlem back-to-Africa enthusiasms as more representative of the black population than they actually were. In point of fact I do not discuss Harlem in connection with a single back-to-Africa movement prior to that of Marcus Garvey. Moreover, my statement about Harlem being the capital of black America (p. 204) was made not about emigration per se as the reviewer implies but about a 1967 dispute over renaming the intersection of 125th Street and 7th Avenue "Africa Square."

Winston also writes that my book contains "little evidence of research in previously unpublished sources." The truth is that several chapters, especially chapter 2 and chapter 3, draw heavily on unpublished British Colonial and Foreign Office materials. Chapter 2 alone contains thirty-four footnotes based on unpublished archival materials.

Of course the reviewer is entitled to his opinion that the book does not produce a new or clearer understanding of Garvey and his UNIA, but it should be noted for the record that John Henrik Clarke found my work on Garvey, England, and the British Empire sufficiently meritorious to include it in his anthology, *Marcus Garvey and the Vision of Africa* (1974).

Winston claims that the author "trivializes vast changes in cultural and intellectual outlook by *concentration* [emphasis mine] on clothing fashions among some black Americans." Actually approximately one page is devoted to African clothing fads and fewer than three pages to African hair fashions. Winston conveniently neglects to say that I also deal with the burgeoning black American interest in African history, culture, and languages, particularly Swahili; with African-inspired religious sects such as the Yoruba Temple; with cultural nationalists such as Karenga's US; with sundry black American visitors to Africa; and with black American support for the liberation struggle in southern Africa. In short, I deal with

countless manifestations of an evolving pan-African consciousness and the quest for a new black identity. It is a gross distortion to say that I concentrate on African clothing.

It is noteworthy that although the reviewer found nothing of value in *Ebony Kinship*, five different professional journals, including *Race and Caribbean Studies*, had previously published six articles of mine based on material in the book.

It is highly significant that Winston finds my occasional reference to Eldridge Cleaver and Stokely Carmichael as "Eldridge" and "Stokely" condescending. Both in speech and in writing blacks frequently refer to Cleaver and Carmichael by their easily recognized first names. Am I less entitled to do so because I am white? Is it conceivable that the reviewer would fault me for such "condescending familiarity" if I were black? I think not.

ROBERT G. WEISBORD
University of Rhode Island

MR. WINSTON REPLIES:

Acrimonious interchanges between authors and reviewers serve little purpose, and there is no point in writing a second review in reply to Robert Weisbord's objection to my negative review.

He fails to recognize, for example, that a statement like "Harlem is unquestionably the heart of black America" is itself question-begging and a source of historical misunderstanding. Changing "heart" in the book to "capital" in his letter hardly serves to clarify the matter. Harlem is not, and has never been, either a capital or the heart of black America, and one expects a professional historian to analyze rather than adopt the shibboleths of movements studied. It was crucial to black nationalists to build the myth of Harlem as a "capital" because they had strength there, and virtually none in the rural or urban South where the majority of black Americans lived during the height of Garveyism. The importance of black nationalists has been exaggerated because of uncritical acceptance of the Harlem myth. A careful reader of my review will see that Weisbord confirms rather than rebuts it. I will not speculate as to why Weisbord introduced the race of the author and reviewer in his reply. I think the matter totally irrelevant to the process of evaluating a historical work.

MICHAEL R. WINSTON
Howard University

TO THE EDITOR:

I would like to correct a statement that appears in Robert W. Fogel's article, "The Limits of Quantitative Methods in History" (*AHR*, 80 [1975]: 329-50). Because of the nature of Fogel's argument, this misstatement strikes me as rather ironic; but it illustrates the wisdom of the quantifier's admonition to historians to learn to count.

On page 344 Fogel turns to the historiography of Southern slavery to illustrate the folly "of attempts to resolve essentially statistical issues by nonstatistical procedures." He claims that the "neo-abolitionists have charged that slaves were nutritionally starved, using as evidence certain statements by travelers to the South . . . or similar commentary found in narratives by ex-slaves." This assertion is followed by a citation to pages 282-89 of my book, *The Peculiar Institution* (1956), where I consider the subject of slave diet.

This is not the place to debate substantive issues—whether Fogel's and Stanley Engerman's book, *Time on the Cross* (1974), does in fact prove that slave diets were nutritionally balanced; whether nutritional starvation is really the issue; whether my own conclusions are drawn from "isolated scraps of evidence, arbitrarily chosen"; or whether their methodology and sources are more reliable than mine. I want merely to deny Fogel's assertion that my generalizations about slave diet are based exclusively, or even primarily, on the statements of travelers and former slaves. This is a matter that can be settled by taking Fogel's advice and resorting to the simplest method of explicit quantification: counting. The seven pages of *The Peculiar Institution* that relate to diet contain a sample of my evidence consisting of ten footnotes with nineteen citations to specific primary sources. (Two secondary sources are also cited.) Of these nineteen citations, four (twenty-one per cent) are to statements by travelers and four (twenty-one per cent) are to narratives by former slaves. The remaining eleven (fifty-eight per cent) are to the writings or records of physicians and slaveholders who, with the exception of Fanny Kemble, had no reason to exaggerate the possible limitations of the slave's diet. Fogel has thus seriously misrepresented both the character and variety of my sources. I have no reason to believe that the misrepresentation was deliberate, but it may serve as a useful, if inadvertent, example of the perils of impressionistic quantification.

KENNETH M. SVAMPP
*University of California,
Berkeley*

PROFESSOR FOGEL REPLIES:

Nothing on page 344 (*AHR*, 80 [1975]) states or implies that Professor Stamp's discussion of the diet was "based exclusively" or "primarily" on statements "of travelers and former slaves." My references to the nature of the evidence employed in the debate over material treatment by neo-abolitionists and revisionist historians were a gloss on the long evaluation of this debate (including a thirty-page discussion of *The Peculiar Institution*) that is contained in *Time on the Cross* (1974). While I cannot replicate that entire discussion here, the following brief extract is germane to the issue raised in Stamp's letter. "Stamp's conclusion that the diet of slaves was inadequate is supported by citations to one article in an agricultural journal which gave questionable nutritional advice

to planters, reports in two slave narratives, reports by three planters (that may be incomplete) of the food fed to slaves on their estates, and critical statements made by six other observers along the lines that the slave diet was 'coarse, crude, and wanting in variety' and that there were 'many farmers' who 'feed their negroes sparingly, believing that it is economy' " (p. 240).

Readers will note a discrepancy between our count and Stamp's count. This is partly because we enumerated sources while Stamp enumerates citations, and partly because our count is limited to sources that supported Stamp's case.

ROBERT W. FOGEL
Harvard University

Recent Deaths

QUIRINUS BREEN, historian of the Renaissance and Christian humanist, died on March 4, 1975, in Eugene, Oregon, after a long, cruelly debilitating illness. He was seventy-nine. Born into a clerical family of the Christian Reformed faith at Orange City, Iowa, in 1896 and destined for the ministry himself, he was entered successively in Calvin Preparatory School, Calvin College, and Calvin Theological Seminary, all of Grand Rapids, Michigan. He was ordained in 1921 and given a church in the same city. While in the seminary, he had come under the profound influence of Professor Ralph Janssen, who introduced him to modern philosophy and to critical Biblical scholarship. When the latter of these interests resulted in Janssen's deposition for heresy, Breen protested in person to the Church Synod and resigned from the ministry.

That act precipitated the one great personal crisis of his life. He withdrew into "cynicism about all churches" and spent two years as a salesman. But his cynicism, never in character, did not last. Breen was ordained by the Presbyterian Church in 1926. His subsequent assignment to a church in Downers Grove, Illinois, enabled him to undertake a doctoral program under John T. McNeill at the University of Chicago. Significantly, his degree was to be in history, not theology. Thus, he committed himself to the same critical scholarship that had been interdicted along with Janssen. But this commitment was not from spite. Rather he resolved upon a career dedicated to searching out and proclaiming the common ground of church and academy, of learning and faith.

After receiving his doctorate in 1931, Breen resigned his pastorate and turned to teaching—initially at Hillsdale College in Michigan (1931–33); then at Albany College, now Lewis and Clark, in Oregon (1933–38); and since then at the University of Oregon until his retirement in 1964. Always an active participant in learned societies, he was a founder of a Pacific Coast branch of the American Society of Church His-

tory, serving as its president in 1947 and as president of the national society in 1948. He served on the council of both the Medieval Academy of America and the Renaissance Society of America and was president of the Pacific Northwest Renaissance Conference. In his participation in these societies, as in his campus associations, he always manifested a cross-disciplinary purpose. But perhaps his striving for unity is best revealed in his publications. From *John Calvin: A Study in French Humanism* (1931), written to recall Janssen's persecutors to their own scholarly past, to "The Church as Mother of Learning," his apologia delivered as the Scott Lectures at Christian Theological Seminary (1961) and reproduced in *Christianity and Humanism* (1968), he applied himself in numerous books, articles, edited editions, and published lectures to overcoming the dualities of reason and faith, philosophy and rhetoric, thought and action, liberal and professional education, past and present. Thought, action, faith—for him, these three were one in man and in mankind by virtue of their common end in the *unam verum bonum*. His quest for ground common to faith and learning found its issue in an all-embracing ecumenicism that encompassed all time and space, whether physical, historical, or cultural.

LLOYD SORENSON
University of Oregon

The death of LEO GERSHOV, professor emeritus of history at New York University, on March 14, 1975, in New York City has diminished our profession and saddened our lives. Born in Krivoi Rog, Russia, on September 27, 1897, he came to the United States in 1903, spent his childhood and youth in New York City, and matriculated at Cornell University in 1915. In 1924 he married Ida Elizabeth Prigohzy, who survives him.

It must have been sixty years ago that I first

met Leo Gershoy, when we entered Cornell as freshmen. Our friendship and that of the small closely knit group we were part of had grown strong by the time we were juniors, and it stood the test of time. Ernest Hettich, later librarian and professor of history at New York University, was one of the group, as was Barnet Nover, later a correspondent for the *Washington Post* and the *Denver Post*. This group became a leading part of the Carl Becker cult, which slowly grew after his arrival at Cornell in 1917; Gottschalk and Gershoy were perhaps its most devout observers.

When we entered graduate school at Cornell in 1919, Gershoy at first matriculated in the Romance languages. From this derived, at least in part, his subtle understanding and wide knowledge of the French Enlightenment. But he never ceased his work in history and took his Ph.D. under Becker in 1925.

After we left Cornell we remained closely associated as personal friends and cooperative colleagues who worked in the same field. If our views on some subjects were akin to each other, the reason must be, in part, our similar backgrounds and that we sat at the feet of the same mentor.

Gershoy has left a rich legacy in teaching and scholarship. Before joining the faculty of New York University in 1946, he taught at the University of Rochester, the College of the City of New York, Long Island University, and Sarah Lawrence College. He was a visiting professor at many universities, among them Columbia, Chicago, and Cornell. His long list of honors includes four Guggenheim awards, a Fulbright grant, and a fellowship at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences. Gershoy's published works include *Bertrand Barère: A Reluctant Terrorist* (1962), *From Despotism to Revolution, 1763-1789* (rev. ed., 1963), *The French Revolution and Napoleon* (rev. ed., 1964), and articles for professional journals.

My pride in my closest friend, Leo Gershoy, has many sources for its fount: An inspiring teacher, he left several generations of students whose admiration and devotion add much to his proud record. The words he put in print have influenced scholars and students beyond his own circle. But perhaps I take most pride in the words of confidential affection that came in his personal letters and in the easy learning and wisdom that came in his conversation. Sixty years of such words and wisdom was much. We may all be forgiven, I think, for regretting that we will be bereft of more.

†LOUIS GOTTSCHALK
University of Chicago

A long-standing member of the American Historical Association, WARNER F. WOODRING, professor emeritus in the department of history, Ohio State University, died on November 27, 1974, at Brooksmith, Texas. Dr. Woodring was born on December 5, 1892, in Angola, Indiana, where he graduated in 1914 from Tri-State College with a B.S. degree in engineering. During World War I he served in the United States Army, being attached to the Meteorological Service.

In 1920 he became a serious student of history at the University of Chicago where he held a fellowship and a teaching assistantship. He received the Ph.D. degree in 1922 with a special interest and research in English political and legal history in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Professor Woodring held positions at Morningside College, Sioux City, Iowa, from 1922 to 1924, and at Allegheny College, Meadville, Pennsylvania, from 1924 to 1937. He came to Ohio State University in 1937 as a visiting professor of English history and became a tenured professor the following year, a position he filled with distinction until his early retirement in 1956 because of impaired vision. He also served at various times as visiting professor at the University of Arkansas, the University of Chicago, the University of Southern California, and Pennsylvania State University.

Woodring was an erudite scholar with a prodigious memory. He supplemented his English historical skill and knowledge by reading widely in English literature and art. He was fascinated by military and naval history and often regaled his colleagues and students with graphic descriptions of early European warships and episodes of the sea. He contributed many reviews of scholarly works to a number of professional journals, and these were always models of perfection.

Professor Woodring loved to teach and was most successful and effective, especially with advanced undergraduates and graduate students. He was a most demanding leader and in seminars was an inspiring teacher with perfect give and take with the students and in discussions continued after class, sometimes almost endlessly. Superior students sought him out and benefited enormously from his association. He directed many doctoral dissertations, and his students joyously kept in touch with him, even after his retirement and his move to Texas. His colleagues always found him energetic and careful in the discharge of his departmental duties and responsibilities.

SYDNEY N. FISHER
Ohio State University

Festschriften and Miscellanies

These volumes, recently received in the *AHR* office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed. Other *Festschriften* and similar volumes that are amenable to reviewing will be found in the review section.

ALONSO HERNANDEZ, JOSÉ LUIS, *et al.* *Espace: Idéologie et société, au XVI^e siècle*. Grenoble: Presses Universitaires de Grenoble. 1975. Pp. 152.

JOSÉ LUIS ALONSO HERNANDEZ, *Parémiologie et critique socio-historique*. JACQUELINE BRUNET, *Création et censure chez G. B. Gelli, de la Marmite au Cabas*. MICHEL PLAISANCE, *Espace et politique dans les comédies florentines des années, 1539-1551*. Appendice. BERNARD QUILLIET, *La situation sociale des avocats du Parlement de Paris, à l'époque de la Renaissance (1490-1560)*.

BERZA, M., and STĂNESCU, E., editors. *Acts du XIV^e Congrès International des études Byzantines: Bucarest, 6-12 Septembre, 1971*. Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România. 1974. Pp. 525.

Académies, Universités et Sociétés Savantes représentées au XIV^e Congrès International des Études Byzantines. Liste des participants au XIV^e Congrès International des Études Byzantines. Schéma du programme.

Séance d'Ouverture du Congrès: VASILE GRECU, Allocution. NICOLAE CEAUȘESCU, Message. MIRON CONSTANTINESCU, Allocution. MIHAI BERZA, Allocution. PAUL LEMERLE, Allocution. Saluts adressés au nom des participants au Congrès: SIR STEVEN RUNCIMAN, Salut. GEORG OSTROGORSKY, Salut. V. N. LAZAREV, Salut.

Séance de Clôture: MIHAI BERZA, Allocution. HANS-GEORG BECK, Allocution. LINOS POLITIS, Allocution. ANTON KURTZ, Allocution. AGOSTINO PERTUSI, Allocution. DENIS ZAKYTHINOS, Allocution. MIRON CONSTANTINESCU, Allocution.

Rapports—Premier Thème: Société et vie intellectuelle au XIV^e siècle: I. SEVCENCO, *Society and Intellectual Life in the Fourteenth Century*. E. WERNER, *Gesellschaft und Kultur im XIV. Jahrhundert: Sozial-ökonomische Fragen*. JOHN MEYENDORFF, *Society and Culture in the Fourteenth Century, Religious Problems*. HANS-GEORG BECK, *Die griechische volkstümliche Literature des 14. Jahrhunderts*. HERBERT HUNGER, *Klassizistische Tendenzen in der byzantinischen Literature des 14. Jh.* MANOLIS CHATZIDAKIS, *Classicisme et tendances populaires au XIV^e siècle. Les recherches sur l'évolution du style*. S. RADOJČIĆ, *Der Klassizismus und ihm entgegengesetzte Tendenzen in der Malerei des 14. Jahrhunderts bei den orthodoxen Balkanslaven und den Rumänen*.—Second Thème: Frontières et Régions Frontières du VII^e au XII^e Siècle (Les Frontières Asiatiques). HÉLÈNE AHRWEILER, *La frontière et les frontières de Byzance en Orient*. Z. V. UDALCOVA, A. P. KAŽDAN, and R. M. BARTIKIAN, *Sotsialnaya Struktura Vostochnykh Granits Vizantinskiy Imperii v IX-XII Vekh* [The Social Structure of the Eastern Borders of the Byzantine Empire in the Ninth-Twelfth Centuries]. A. PERTUSI, *Tra storia e leggenda: akritai e ghāzi sulla frontiera orientale de Bisanzio*. N. OIKONOMIDIS, *L'organisation de la frontière orientale de Byzance aux X^e-XI^e siècles et le Taktikon de l'Escorial*. D. OBOLENSKY, *Byzantine Frontier Zones and Cultural Exchanges*.—Troisième Thème: L'art Profane à Byzance: ANDRÉ GRABAR, *L'art profane à Byzance*. J. G. BECKWITH, *Byzantine Tissues*. W. F. VOLBACH, *Profane Silber- und Elfenbeinarbeiten aus Byzanz*. O. I. PODOBEDOVA, *Otazheniye Vizantiyskikh Illyustriro Vannykh Khronikh v Tverskom Spiske Khroniki Georgiya Amartola* [Reflection of the Byzantine Illustrated Chronicles in the Iversk Third Manuscript of Georgiya Amartola].—Quatrième Thème: Byzance et la Roumanie. EUGEN STĂNESCU, *Byzance et les Pays roumains aux IX^e-XV^e siècles*. VALENTIN AL. GEORGESCU, *Byzance et les institutions roumaines, jusqu'à la fin du XV^e siècle*. ION-RADU MIRCEA, *Relations littéraires entre Byzance et les Pays roumains*. I. D. ȘTEFĂNESCU, *Relations artistiques roumanobyzantines. Aperçu général*. MARIA-ANA MUCESCU, *Relations artistiques entre Byzance et les Pays roumains (IV^e-XV^e s.). État actuel de la recherche*.

MORRIS, MARGARET FRANCINE, and WEST, ELLIOTT, editors. *Essays on Urban America*. With introduction by CONSTANCE MCLAUGHLIN GREEN. (The Walter Prescott Webb Memorial Lectures, 9.) Austin: University of Texas Press. 1975. Pp. 147. \$7.00.

ROBERT F. OAKS, *The City under Military Occupation*: Philadelphia, 1777-1778. BRUCE I. AMBACHER, *Urban Response to Jacksonian Democracy*: Philadelphia Democrats and the Bank War, 1832-1834. RICHARD G. MILLER, *Fort Worth and the Progressive Era: The Movement for Charter Revision, 1899-1907*. RICHARD C. WADE, *Historical Analogies and Public Policy: The Black and Immigrant Experience in Urban America*.

NIZAMI, K. A., editor. *Medieval India: A Miscellany*. (Centre of Advanced Study, Department of History, Aligarh Muslim University, vol. 2.) New York: Asia Publishing House. 1972. Pp. 346. \$10.00.

S. MAQBUL AHMAD, *Road-System of India as Described by Al-Biruni*. M. C. JOSHI, *Some Nagari Inscriptions on the Quth Minar*. IQTIDAR ALAM KHAN, *The Turko-Mongol Theory of Kingship*. IQTIDAR HUSAIN SIDDIQI, *Wajh'-I-Ma' Ash Grants under the Afghan Kinds (1451-1555)*. R. NATH, *Depiction of Fabulous Animals (Gaj-Vyala) at the Delhi-Gate of Agra Fort*. MUHAMMAD ZAMMEERUDDIN SIDDIQI, *The Intelligence Services under the Mughals*. AFZAL HUSAIN, *The Family of Shaikh Salim Chishti during the Reign of Jahangir*. RAFI AHMAD ALAVI, *New Light of Mughal Cavalry*. AZRA NIZAMI, *Socio-Religious Outlook of Abul Fazl*. HAMIDA KHATOON NAQVI, *Incidents of Rebellions during the Reign of Emperor Akbar*. M. ATHAR ALI, *Sidelights into Ideological and Religious Attitudes in the Punjab during the 17th Century*. A. J. QAISAR, *Merchant Shipping in India during the Seventeenth Century*. MAHENDRA PAL SINGH, *Merchants and the Local Administration and Civic Life in Gujarat during the 17th Century*. MUHAMMAD UMAR, *Foreign Trade of India during the Eighteenth Century*. ZAHIRUDDIN MALIK, *The Subah of Kashmir under the Later Mughals: 1708-1748*. S. P. GUPTA, *Ijara System in Eastern Rajasthan (c. 1650-1750)*. QEYAMUDDIN AHMAD, *Meaning and Usage of Some Terms of Land Revenue Administration*. SAFI AHMAD, *The Awadh Treaty of 1837*. MOHD. YASIN MAZHAR SIDDIQI, *Arzdasht of Badr Hajib*. RAFAT BILGIRAMI, *Some Mughal Revenue Grants to the Family and Khanqah of Saiyid Ashraf Jahangir*. MOHAMMAD HABIB, *Studies in the History of Rajasthan (r. essay)*. MOHAMMAD HABIB, (reviewer). *Urdu main Wahhabi Adah* by Khwaja Ahmad Faruqi.

PIPPIDI, D. M., editor. *Actes du IX^e Congrès International, d'Études sur les frontières romaines: Mamaia, 6-13 septembre 1972*. Bucharest: Editura Academiei. 1974. Pp. 553. 72 Plates.

ION BARNEȘ and GH. ȘTEFAN, *Le limes scythicus des origines à la fin de l'antiquité*. TIBOR NAGY, *Drei Jahre Limesforschungen in Ungarn*. VLADIMIR KOŃÍČ, *Ergebnisse der neuen Forschungen auf dem obermoesischen Donaulimes*. TEOFIL IVANOV, *Die letzten Ausgrabungen des römischen und frühbyzantinischen Donau-Limes in der VR Bulgarien*. OCTAVIAN TOROPU, *La frontière nord-danubienne de la Dacie Ripensis depuis l'abandon de la Dacie trajane jusqu'aux invasions hunniques*. EM. CONDURACHI, *Classis Flavia Moesica au I^{er} siècle de n.è.* EMILIA DORUȚIU-BOILĂ, *Troesmis und die Organisation des skythischen Limes in der frühen Kaiserzeit*. AL.-S. ȘTEFAN, *Recherches de photo-interprétation archéologique sur le limes de la Scythie Mineure à l'époque du Bas-Empire*. C. SCORPAN, *Scidava—A New Roman Fortress on the Map of the Danube Limes*. ANREI ARICESCU, *Auxilia limits Scythici*. A. V. RĂDULESCU, *Ateliers de produits en terre cuite le long du Bas-Danube*. BURKHARD BÖTTGER, *Die Importkeramik aus dem spätantiken Donaulimeskastell Iatrus in Nordbulgarien (Zu Aspekten ihrer wirtschaftshistorischen Interpretation)*. KLAUS WACHTEL, *Zum gegenwärtigen Forschungsstand der Kastellgrabung Iatrus*. LUDWIKA PRESS, *The So-Called Portico Building at Novae, Bulgaria*. VELIZAR VELKOV, *Der Kult der Diana Plestrensis in Moesia Inferior*. MARIA ČIČIKOVA, *"Firmalampen" du limes danubien en Bulgarie*. IORANKA ATANASSOVA-GEORGIEVA, *Le quadriburgium de la forteresse Castra Martis en Dacia Ripensis*. N. GUDEA, *Befestigungen am Banater Donau-Limes aus der Zeit der Tetrarchie*. SÁNDOR SOPRONI, *Die spätrömische Festung von Iovia*. JENŐ FITZ, *Römische Lager in Gorsium*. JAROSLAV ŠAŠEL, *Die Limes-Entwicklung in Illyricum*. STEPHAN FERENCZI, *Die Nordstrecke des dakischen Limes vom Crișul Repede bis zu den Ostkarpaten*. KURT HOREDIT, *Zur Frage der grossen Erdwälle an der mittleren und unteren Donau*. I. I. RUSSU, *Die Hilfstruppen am Limes Daciae Superioris*. D. PROTASE, *"Exercitus Daciae Porolissensis" et la défense des frontières septentrionales de la Dacie*. D. TUDOR, *Nouvelles recherches archéologiques sur le limes Alutanus et le limes Transalutanus*. CRISTIAN M. VLĂDESCU and GH. POENARU BORDEA, *Les fortifications romaines sur le limes Alutanus dans la zone du massif de Cozia*. IOANA BOGDAN CĂTĂNICIU, *Nouvelles données sur le limes Transalutanus*. RADU VULPE, *Les valla de la Valachie, de la Basse-Moldavie et du Boudjak*. STEPHEN L. DYSON, *The Role of Comparative Frontier Studies in Understanding the Roman Frontier*. GIOVANNI FORNI, *Denominazioni proprie e improprie dei "limites" delle province*. B. W. WARMINGTON, *Frontier Studies and the History of the Roman Empire—Some desiderata*. A. R. BIRLEY, *Septimius Severus, Propagator Imperii*. DENIS VAN BERCHEM, *Les itinéraires de Caracalla et L'itinéraire Antonin*. J. F. CILLIAM, *Jupiter Turmasgades*. RADISLAV HOŠEK, *Nymphis Sacrum*. DAVID J. BREEZE and BRIAN DOBSON, *The Development of the Northern Frontier in Britain from Hadrian to Caracalla*. GORDON S. MAXWELL, *The Building of the Antonine Wall*. ROBIN G. LIVENS, *Litus Hiberni-*

- cum. D. R. WILSON, Roman Camps in Britain. S. S. FRERE, The Roman Fortress at Longthorpe, England. F. H. THOMPSON, The Amphitheatre of the Legionary Fortress of *Deva* (Chester): Excavations 1965-69. BRIAN HOBLEY, 'The Lunt' Roman Fort, England: Summary of Excavations 1967-72. DIETRICH HOFFMANN, Der Oberbefehl des spätömischen Heeres im 4. Jahrhundert n. Chr. H. V. PETRIKOVITS, Militärische Fabricae der Römer. HANS SCHÖNBERGER, Neue Ausgrabungen im Römerkastell Oberstimm an der Oberen Donau. HANNSJÖRG UBL, Das römerzeitliche Gräberfeld und die zugehörige Siedlung von Mannersdorf a. Leithagebirge, Flur Hausfelder am Arbach. WERNER JORNS, Der spätömische Burgus, "Zullestein" mit Schiffslände, nördlich von Worms. HANS EIDEN, Dans Militärbad in Boppard am Rhein. J. E. BOGAERS, Troupes auxiliaires thraces dans la partie néerlandaise de la Germania Inferior. W. GLASBERGEN and W. GROENMAN-VAN WAATERINGE, The Garrisons of Valkenburg Z.H. 1, 1a and 2/3. JOËL LE GALL, Le rôle tactique des camps établis autour d'Alesia par l'armée de César en 52 av. J.-C. EDITH MARY WIGHTMAN, La Gaule Chevelue entre César et Auguste. J. M. BLAZQUEZ, Der Limes im Spanien des vierten Jahrhunderts. I. ROLL, Routes romaines en Israël. MORDECHAI GICHON, Towers on the Limes Palaestina: Forms, Purpose, Terminology and Comparisons. ALAIN MALISSARD, Pour une étude filmique de la Colonne Trajane. D. M. PIPPIDI, Séance de clôture.

Other Books Received

Books listed were received by the *AHR* between May 1 and July 15, 1975. Books that will be reviewed are not listed, but listing does not preclude subsequent review.

GENERAL

- ABRAHAM, HENRY J. *The Judicial Process: An Introductory Analysis of the Courts of the United States, England, and France*. 3d ed. rev.; New York: Oxford University Press. 1975. Pp. xii, 543. Cloth \$12.95, paper \$5.95.
- ADAMS, BERT N. *The Family: A Sociological Interpretation*. 2d ed.; Chicago: Rand McNally. 1975. Pp. xiii, 412. \$9.95.
- The Americas in a Changing World: A Report of the Commission on United States-Latin American Relations*. Preface by SOL M. LINOWITZ. Quadrangle Book. New York: Quadrangle/The New York Times Book Co. 1975. Pp. vi, 248. \$3.95.
- BAIROCH, PAUL. *The Economic Development of the Third World since 1900*. Tr. by CYNTHIA POSTAN. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1975. Pp. xii, 260. \$12.00. See rev. of French ed. (1967), *AHR*, 73 (1967-68): 99.
- BARBIERI, LAZARO. *Introducción al estudio de la sociología*. Manuales de humanitas, no. 3. Tucumán: Universidad Nacional de Tucumán, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras. 1973. Pp. 471.
- BELL, DAVID V. J. *Power, Influence, and Authority: An Essay in Political Linguistics*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1975. Pp. xii, 131. \$6.95.
- BENDINER, ELMER. *A Time for Angels: The Tragicomic History of the League of Nations*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1975. Pp. xiv, 441, xviii. \$12.95.
- BIRKOS, ALEXANDER S., and TAMBS, LEWIS A. *Historiography, Method, History Teaching: A Bibliography of Books and Articles in English, 1965-1973*. Linnet Books. Hamden, Conn.: Shoe String Press. 1975. Pp. x, 130. \$7.50.
- BOGUE, ALLAN G. (ed.). *Emerging Theoretical Models in Social and Political History*. Sage Contemporary Social Science Issues, 9. Beverly Hills: Sage. 1973. Pp. 152. \$3.00.
- BROOKFIELD, HAROLD. *Interdependent Development. Perspectives on Development*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press. 1975. Pp. xiii, 234. \$8.95.
- CATLIN, GEORGE. *Kissinger's Atlantic Charter*. Gerards Cross: Colin Smythe; distrib. by Rowman and Littlefield, Totowa, N.J. 1974. Pp. 144. \$12.00.
- CERAMI, CHARLES A. *Crisis: The Loss of Europe*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich. 1975. Pp. 182. \$7.95.
- COHEN, RALPH (ed.). *New Directions in Literary History*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1974. Pp. viii, 263. \$10.00.
- Conversations with Lukás: Hans Heinz Holz; Leo Kofler; Wolfgang Abendroth*. Ed. by THEO PINKUS. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press. 1975. Pp. 155.
- DARWIN, CHARLES. *The Origin of Species*. Abridged and introd. by PHILIP APPLEMAN. New York: W. W. Norton. 1975. Pp. 128. \$1.45.
- DE CECCO, MARCELLO. *Money and Empire: The International Gold Standard, 1890-1914*. Totowa, N.J.: Rowman and Littlefield. 1975. Pp. x, 254. \$20.00.
- DEWHURST, KENNETH (ed. and introd. by). *Thomas Dover's Life and Legacy*. History of Medicine ser., no. 44. Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press. 1974. Pp. xliii, 247. \$12.50.
- DOCTOROW, E. I. *Ragtime*. New York: Random House. 1974. Pp. 270. \$8.95.
- DRAKE, MICHAEL. *Historical Demography: Problems and Projects*. Social Sciences: A Third Level Course. Historical Data and the Social Sciences, Units 5-8. Milton Keynes: Open University Press. 1974. Pp. 160.
- DRAKE, MICHAEL. *The Quantitative Analysis of Historical Data*. Social Sciences: A Third Level Course. Historical Data and the Social Sciences, Units 1-4. Milton Keynes: Open University Press. 1974. Pp. 136.
- EAMES, JAMES BROMLEY. *The English in China: Being an Account of the Intercourse and Relations between England and China from the Year 1600 to the Year 1843 and a Summary of Later Developments*. New impression of 1909 ed. New York: Barnes & Noble. 1974. Pp. xi, 622. \$20.50.
- EDMOND, MARY (ed.). *European Parliament Digest*. Volume 1, 1973. Totowa, N.J.: Rowman and Littlefield. 1975. Pp. vii, 212. \$22.50.
- ELBLE, ROLF. *Die Schlacht an der Bzura im September 1939 aus deutscher und polnischer Sicht*. Einzelschriften zur militärischen Geschichte des Zweiten Weltkrieges, 15. Freiburg: Verlag Rombach. 1975. Pp. 266.
- ERIKSON, ERIK H. *Life History and the Historical Moment*. New York: W. W. Norton. 1975. Pp. 283. \$9.95.
- FINE, BERNARD D., and WALDHORN, HERBERT F. (eds.). *Alterations in Defenses during Psychoanalysis: Aspects of Psychoanalytic Intervention*. The Kris

- Study Group of the New York Psychoanalytic Institute, monograph 6. New York: International Universities Press. 1975. Pp. xi, 97. \$7.00.
- FLORENCE, RONALD. *Marx's Daughters: Eleanor Marx, Rosa Luxemburg, Angelica Balabanoff*. New York: Dial Press. 1975. Pp. 258. \$10.00.
- FORSTER, ROBERT, and RANUM, OREST (eds.). *Biology of Man in History: Selections from the Annales Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations*. Tr. by ELBORG FORSTER and PATRICIA M. RANUM. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1975. Pp. x, 205. Cloth \$12.00, paper \$2.95.
- FRANCIS, DAVID. *The First Peninsular War 1702-1713*. New York: St. Martin's Press. 1975. Pp. 440. \$16.95.
- GANTZEL, KLAUS JÜRGEN, et al. *Konflikt—Eskalation—Krise: Sozialwissenschaftliche Studien zum Ausbruch des Ersten Weltkrieges*. Krieg und Frieden: Beiträge zu Grundproblemen der internationalen Politik. [Gütersloh:] Bertelsmann Universitätsverlag. 1972. Pp. 375. DM 24.
- GAWRONSKI, DONALD V. *History: Meaning and Method*. 3d ed.; Glenview, Ill.: Scott, Foresman. 1975. Pp. 132. \$2.95.
- GILLISPIE, CHARLES COULSTON (ed.). *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*. Vol. 11, *A. Pitcairn-B. Rush*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1975. Pp. xiii, 618. \$10.00. See rev. of vols. 1 and 2 (1970). *AHR*, 78 (1973): 64.
- GOMBRICH, E. H. *Art History and the Social Sciences*. The Romanes Lectures for 1973. New York: Oxford, at the Clarendon Press. 1975. Pp. 60. \$2.50.
- HAUPT, GEORGES. *Programm und Wirklichkeit: Die internationale Sozialdemokratie vor 1914*. Foreword by ERNEST LABROUSSE. Soziallogische Essays. Neuwied: Luchterhand. 1970. Pp. 253.
- HEUSS, ALFRED. "Ideologiekritik": Ihre theoretischen und praktischen Aspekte. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter. 1975. Pp. 129. DM 16.80.
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Compiled by JOHN T. APPLEBY† and ROBIN E. BYRNES

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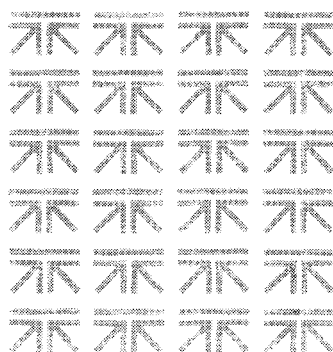
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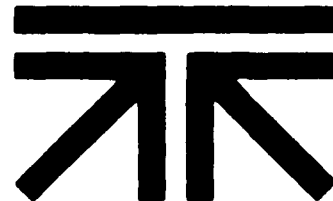
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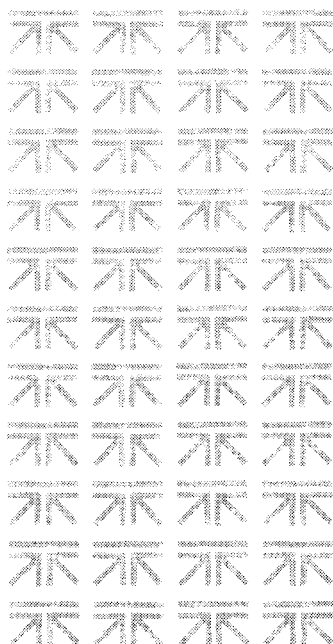


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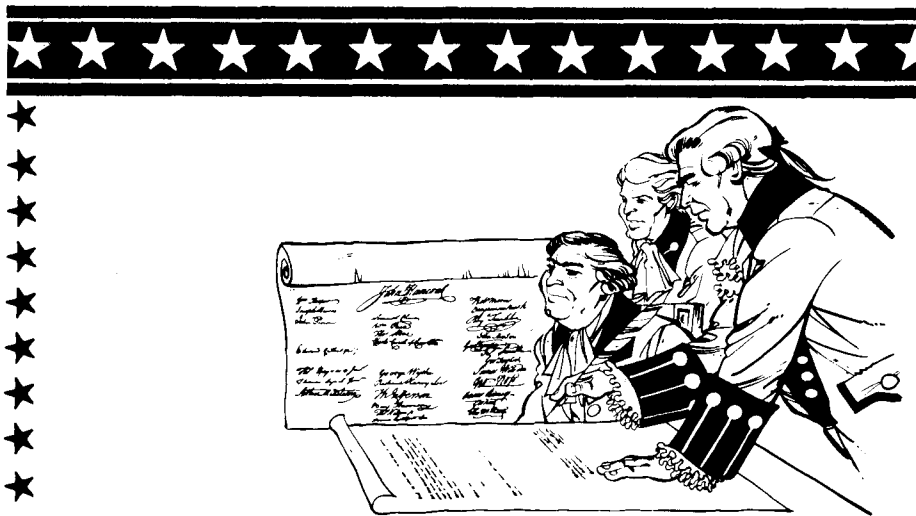
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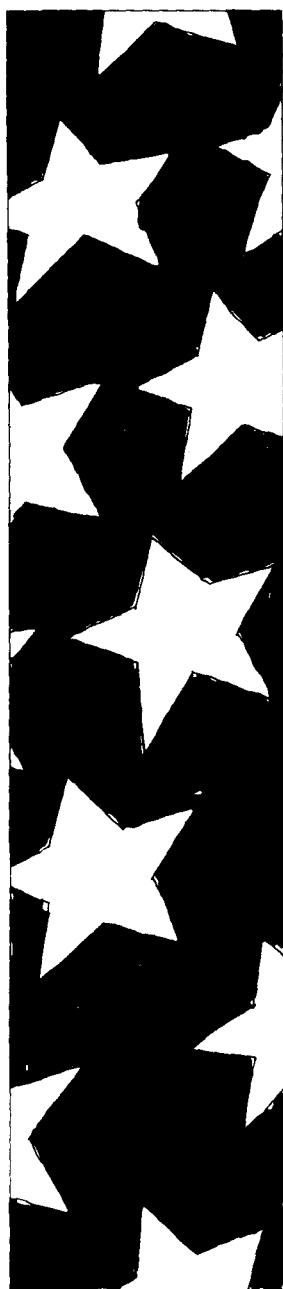
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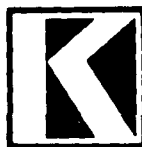
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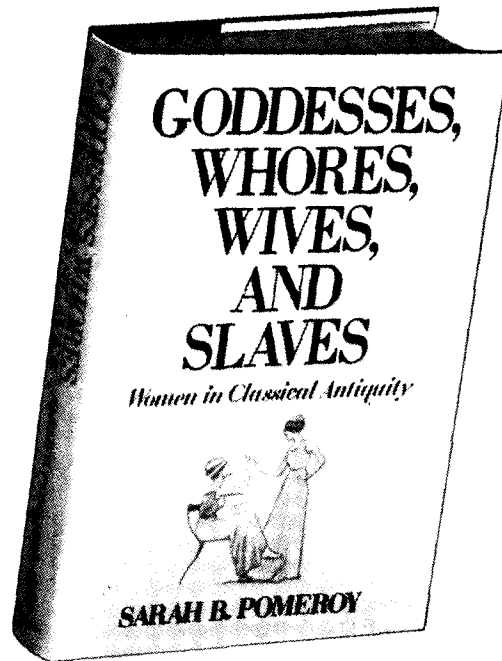
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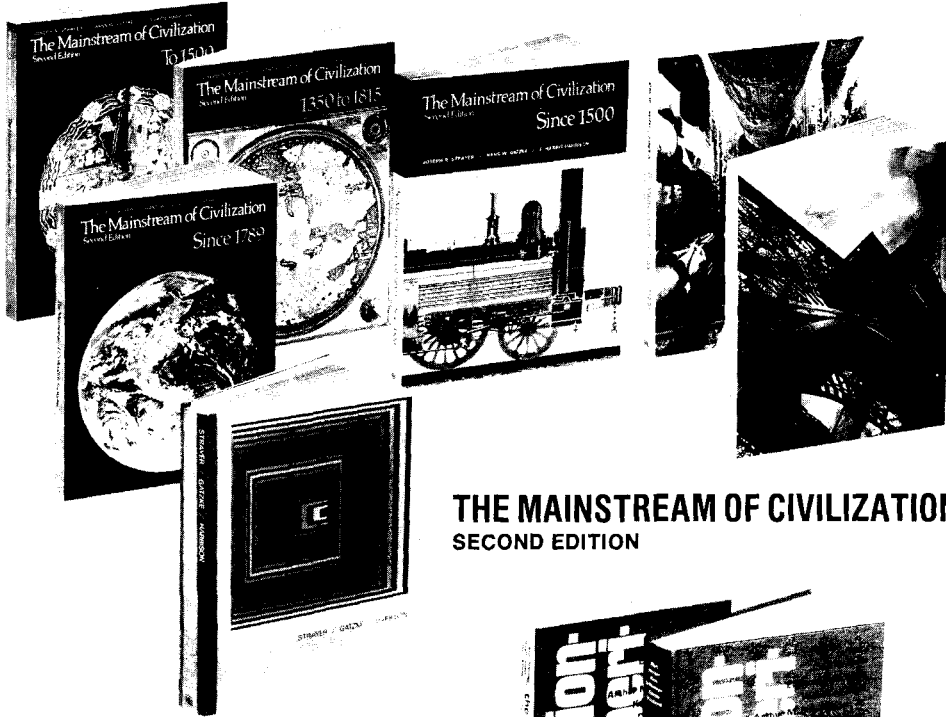
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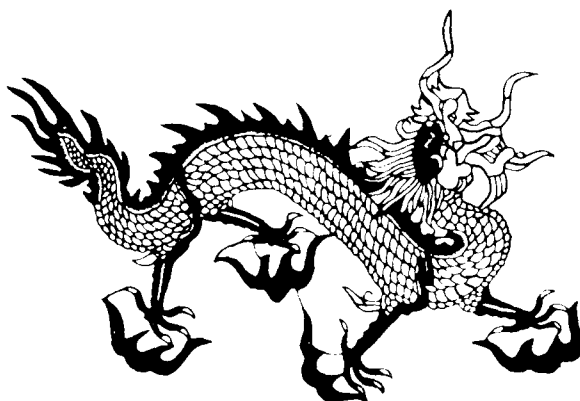
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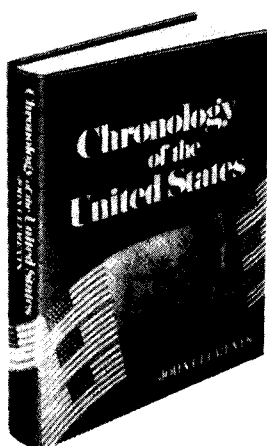
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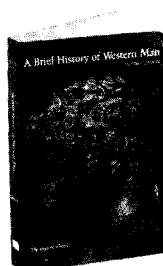
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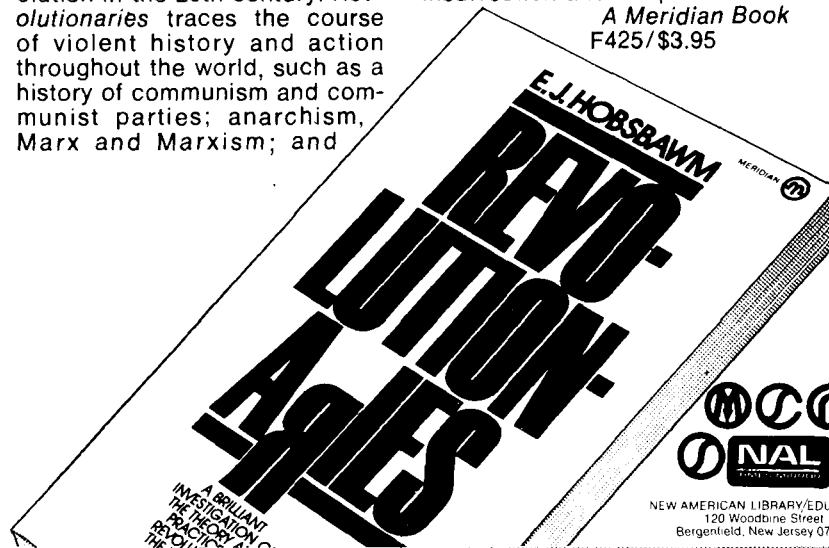
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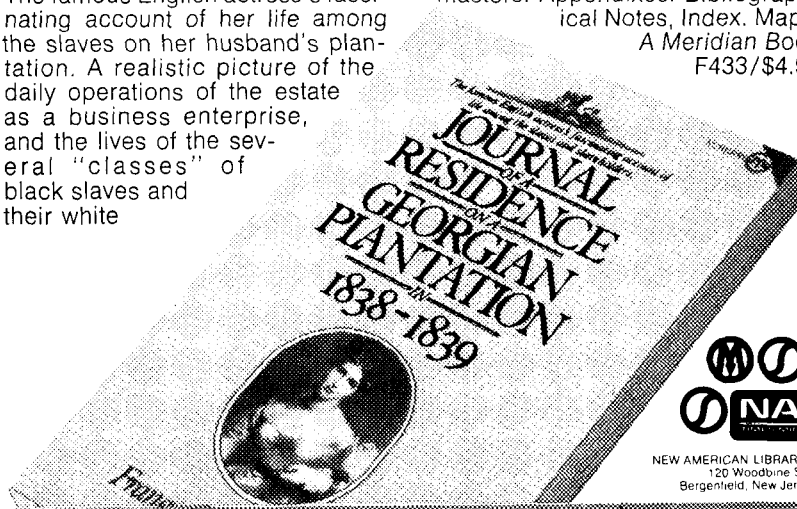
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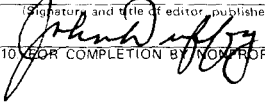
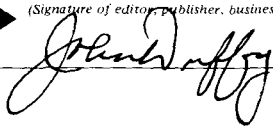
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